

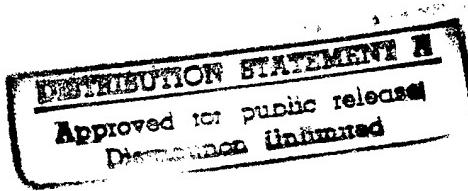
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4 SEPTEMBER 1986

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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CHINA REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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WESTERN EUROPE'S ADJUSTMENTS TO U.S. STRATEGY CHANGES

Beijing XIANDAI GUOJI GUANXI [CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] in Chinese
No 2, 20 Apr 86 pp 20-25

[Article by Ding Hong [0002 5725] and Yang Jingshuang [2799 2529 9684]: "The Impact of U.S. Military Strategic Adjustment on Western Europe"]

[Text] The "Strategic Defense Initiative" proposed by President Reagan has evoked fairly strong repercussions in Western Europe. By no means is this a fortuitous phenomenon. Looking back on the more than 30-year history of NATO, whenever there was a major change in America's military strategy there was sure to be a far-reaching impact on its West European allies. For the most part this impact has been manifested in: to cope with their powerful eastern neighbor, the European allies, sometimes voluntarily and sometimes on compulsion, have adjusted their military strategy in line with the change in America's military strategy, Western Europe's dissatisfaction with and lack of confidence in America's "nuclear protection" has grown with each passing day, and thus, for their own security, they have constantly strengthened their determination and actions for defense cooperation. In brief, the military strategic relationship between Western Europe and America has been a relationship of both dependence and relative independence.

In the Adjustment of General Military Strategy, Western Europe Basically Follows in Step With America

After World War II, the relationship between America and the Soviet Union changed from that of wartime allies to that of peacetime adversaries, and the establishment and development of two military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, led to a confrontation between East and West. At this time the strategic focus of contention between America and the Soviet Union was Europe, and an important component part of America military strategy was also a European strategy. Therefore, for America, the coordination of strategy by America and Europe is the indispensable condition for resistance to the Soviet Union. History since the establishment of NATO proves that every change in America's military strategy leads to a corresponding change in Western Europe's.

1. America Leads Western Europe To Replace the Strategy of "Massive Ground Operations" with the Strategy of "Massive Retaliation."

In the initial stage after the war, although America had a monopoly on the atomic bomb, no matter whether in quantity, launching, or accuracy, the atomic bomb weapons it possessed were not sufficient to destroy the Soviet Union. America's original idea was to let Europe establish its own conventional war forces with America's nuclear weapons playing a supporting role. Once war approached, it would still need to depend on operations by powerful ground forces to win victory. In 1952, at a conference in Lisbon, NATO adopted a plan for increasing within 2 years the number of conventional forces to 96 divisions and the number of aircraft to 9,500. This was a typical plan in the strategic period of "massive ground operations." Because the arms expansion goals of the Lisbon conference was hard to attain, NATO was unable to narrow the gap in conventional forces between it and the Warsaw Treaty. In 1953, relying on the absolute superiority of America's nuclear forces and the advantageous condition that America's metropolitan territory would escape a Soviet attack, President Eisenhower approved a strategy of "massive retaliation." The main feature of this strategy was that if Western Europe were attacked by the Soviet Union or Soviet-supported units, America would at once counterattack with nuclear weapons or its strategic air force, thereby inflicting a large amount of casualties and destruction on the enemy's population and industry. After America's new strategy was set forth, NATO adopted a large-scale retaliation strategy called the "sword" and the "shield," namely, with America's strategic nuclear forces acting as the "sword" striking the enemy, and the ground units of the West European allies acting as the "shield," in which NATO played the role of a "trip net."

2. America's Strategy of "Flexible Response" Forced Western Europe To Abandon the Strategy of "Massive Retaliation."

At the end of the fifties, after the Soviet Union's artificial satellites had been put up and its intercontinental ballistic missiles had made their appearance, the Soviet Union finally had the means to strike the metropolitan territory of America. In the sixties the development of nuclear technology greatly improved the accuracy and destructiveness of nuclear weapons. These two things caused Americans themselves to doubt the effectiveness of the strategy of "massive retaliation," and it was against this background that the strategy of "flexible response" emerged as the times required. Its main feature was that, once a conflict occurred, based on the enemy's different modes of attack, to make a selective, gradually escalated response, with strategic nuclear forces being the last means, and as much as possible deferring the use of nuclear forces. Among the European allies at that time, it was France that most opposed the strategy of "flexible response." In 1966, when it withdrew from the organic military organization of NATO, it still pursued the strategy of "massive retaliation." However, as a member country of NATO, France could not, in military strategy, dislocate itself for a long period from NATO. Therefore, after Giscard d'Estaing came to power, he set forth the viewpoints of "expanded sanctuary" and "forward position defense," setting forth a theoretical basis for France to pursue the strategy of "flexible response." As for the other allies, although they were full of misgivings about the strategy of "flexible response," they considered that for their security there was no other choice than to depend on America, and also that if they flatly refused the new strategy there could be touched off inside America a demand that its troops stationed in Europe be withdrawn. After

weighing the gains and losses, in 1967 Western Europe finally accepted the strategy of "flexible response." At the same time, America made some compromises and concessions, for example, no longer saying it would "not be the first to use nuclear weapons, ambiguously accepting careful escalation, and taking the position that strategic nuclear forces would not be used until the last moment.

3. To Coordinate With America's "Ground-Air Warfare" Western Europe Reluctantly Accepted the "Rogers Plan."

Since the seventies, the Soviet Union's conventional forces and intermediate-range nuclear forces have been superior in the European region. This has caused the strategy of "flexible response," which was established on the basis of America's superiority, to be full of holes. Its fatal point is that the conventional forces are too weak, thus lowering the nuclear threshold. Therefore, while exploring a new military strategy, America has readjusted in many ways the strategy of "flexible response," and especially with regard to conventional forces has set forth the theory of "ground-air warfare." The idea behind ground-air warfare is to check the Warsaw treaty's vanguard attack with highly efficacious modernized conventional weapons, pin the enemy in an in-depth defensive circle, and strike at his follow-up units waiting to take part in battle. It stresses "initiative, depth, flexibility, and coordination," but avoids the use of nuclear weapons in the early stage. While America set forth the theory of "ground-air warfare," Rogers, the supreme commander of the NATO allies, set forth a new plan for strengthening conventional forces (the "Rogers plan"). Like the "ground-air warfare," it adopts new technological weapons to give the conventional forces the capability to simultaneously strike the enemy's first and second echelons. This not only raises the nuclear threshold, but also forces the enemy to take responsibility for the "first use of nuclear weapons." Although feeling that there were many difficulties in strengthening conventional forces, the European allies in NATO had, in principle, to admit the necessity for raising the nuclear threshold. In November 1984, under the precondition that America provide nuclear protection, NATO adopted the "Rogers plan."

4. After Reagan Proposed the "Strategic Defense Initiative," Western Europe Also Began To Consider Its Own Space Defense System

On 12 March 1983, President Reagan proposed the "Strategic Defense Initiative." The idea behind this initiative is to use laser, particle beam, and other advanced technologies to form a multilayered space defense system, so that at any stage in the process of an enemy missile launch, the missile can be detected and destroyed. The Western press thought that was another major plan by Reagan to make use of America's technological superiority to seek strategic superiority. Once it is successfully developed and put into the deployment stage, it will usher in a new era in military strategy. Although at present it is hard to specifically estimate what consequences this initiative of America's will have on NATO's military strategy, it can be predicted that it will have an impact exceeding that of America's change in military strategy in the sixties. American leaders have repeatedly pledged that America's "Strategic Defense Initiative" will include the defense of the European region, and have given consideration to making a small strategic

defense system for Europe. In December 1985, Worner, minister of defense of Federal Germany, suggested to NATO that a European space defense system be developed to cope with Soviet medium- and short-range missiles. In April 1985, French President Mitterrand proposed the "Eureka" plan for cooperation within the domain of sophisticated technologies, which also is of significance for preparing for space defense.

In Its Thinking the Confidence of Western Europe in America's Nuclear Protection Has Fallen Day by Day.

The foundation of the military relationship between Europe and America is that a powerful America will provide nuclear protection for its West European allies. In 1957, the Soviet Union put up a satellite and began to employ forces that could attack the metropolitan territory of America, and America then adopted the strategy of flexible response. This caused Western Europe to begin to have misgivings that European and American security would be "uncoupled": would America, to insure the security of Europe, be willing to risk the danger of a nuclear attack on its metropolitan territory? The adjustments in America's military strategy in the past 30 years have made Western Europe realize more and more that, in the defense relationship between Europe and America, there are more negative factors than positive factors, and the possibility of "uncoupling" is greater than the possibility of "coupling."

1. Western Europe Criticizes America for Its Gradual Decline in the Will To Protect Western Europe.

In the period of the "massive retaliation" strategy, American nuclear protection of Western Europe could be summed up in the three features of "immediate, first, and unconditional." At that time the concept of "limited nuclear war" did not exist. Thus, America's nuclear protection was believable. However, following the adjustments in America's military strategy, there is nothing left of the abovementioned three features. America's nuclear protection of Western Europe has changed to "no first use," "conditional," and "deferred as much as possible or even not used at all." In the past 30 years, the changes in America's military strategy have caused a crisis of confidence in Western Europe with regard to America, in which there have been three upsurges.

First, the "flexible response" strategy caused Europeans to suddenly change from confidence in America to doubt in America, and Western Europe was greatly shaken. In their view, the practice of America's military strategy in itself implies that America is intentionally weakening its nuclear protection. General Taylor, the founder of the "flexible response" strategy, expounded it extremely clearly: "In future years, besides for insuring our survival, if we were to use atomic retaliatory weapons for other purposes, this would be inadvisable for our allies, for our enemies, and for ourselves." (1) General De Gaulle of France was the earliest to realize that the "flexible response" strategy could have a serious effect on Europe, and thus he advocated with all his might the development of France's independent nuclear force. Strauss, the defense minister of Federal German at the time, also sharply criticized the "flexible response" strategy as a "manifestation of America's weakness." (2)

Second, from the mid-seventies to the beginning of the eighties, the adjustments in America's military strategy and certain proposals that were being discussed evoked another wave of mistrust of America by various West European countries, although it did not reach the peak evoked by the "flexible response" strategy of the sixties. For example, in U.S. Presidential Memorandum No 10, which came out in 1977, the main point was that once the East attacked Federal Germany the Western alliance would abandon a third of that country's territory. When this news was revealed it caused panic in Western Europe, especially in Federal Germany, because this memorandum meant a change in the "forward defense" strategy that NATO had pursued for many years. In 1980, America promulgated Presidential Decree No 59, which in nuclear strategy replaced "assured destruction" with the "counteraction strategy." One of the key points in the "counteraction strategy" is that if war cannot be avoided its scale must be limited. What Europeans worried about was that meant a further increase in the possibility of a limited nuclear war being fought on European territory so that American territory would not suffer losses. In 1982, the U.S. "gang of four" (McNamara, Bundy, Kennan, and Smith) recommended that NATO should "not be the first to use nuclear weapons." Although this recommendation was not publicly accepted by American officials it caused big vibrations in Western Europe.

Third, the "Strategic Defense Initiative" proposed by Reagan has further deepened Western Europe's mistrust of America's nuclear protection. Western Europe's misgiving is, first, that the new strategy will destroy the several decades' basis for NATO's security--nuclear deterrence. If this security basis is shaken, the peace of Europe, which has been maintained for 40 years, will be imperiled. It is noteworthy that the West Europeans, who in the sixties strongly opposed the "flexible response" strategy and later accepted it grudgingly now vigorously defend this military strategy. Next, Europeans feel that once America enters the stage of deploying the strategic defense system there will be produced a "fortress mentality" in it, and it will be more indifferent to Europe's security, thus causing America to gradually depart from Europe and causing the uncoupling of European and American security to become a reality. Federal Germany, which is on the frontline between East and West, is even more sensitive about this. Its leaders have time and again asserted, "Space defense must take into consideration the homogeneity of the alliance strategy." (3) Finally, Western Europe also worries that the escalation of the U.S.-Soviet arms race will destroy the East-West security system. The leaders of all West European countries, including Mrs Thatcher, unanimously demand that, before it deploys a space defense system, America hold talks with the Soviet Union. They also hope that if the current nuclear talks can reach a point at which there is a great reduction in nuclear weapons, there will no longer be a need to deploy space weapons.

2. Western Europe Thinks America Has Made the Mistake in Strategy of Adopting Shortcomings and Disregarding Good Points.

Europeans, who have gone through two world wars, from their own personal experience realize that the core of the security question is that a new war (including a conventional war) must never again break out on European territory. To avoid Europe suffering another catastrophe, Europeans would

rather choose a "pure deterrent," or at least to put the deterrent into defense matters. How can they make the deterrent effective? Western Europe advocates displaying strong points and avoiding weak points, that is, make up with the nuclear deterrent its inadequacies in conventional deterrent. The larger the scale and the earlier the time that strategic nuclear forces are used for retaliation, the more effective is the deterrent, and the more possibility there is of stopping the enemy from rashly launching an attack. Therefore, Western Europe thinks that, in pursuing its strategy, America has made the mistake of adopting shortcomings and disregarding good points. America's "flexible response" strategy does not make full use of the advantageous condition of its relative superiority in nuclear forces to strengthen the nuclear deterrent. As for the Strategic Defense Initiative, it even more fundamentally shakes the nuclear deterrent. America has time and again called on its West European allies to strengthen their conventional forces, which precisely means adopting NATO's shortcoming. Western Europe thinks that the gap in the European region between its conventional forces and those of the Warsaw Treaty is too large, and to increase a small number of military forces will fundamentally be of no avail. French General (Gaillard) has clearly pointed out that in Europe conventional deterrence is not of the slightest significance, as the enormous superiority of the Warsaw Treaty will swiftly be manifested and the defenses of Western Europe will be routed at a single blow. In the view of West Europeans, this runs completely counter to the idea of displaying their strong points and avoiding their weak points, and thus their mistrust of America is further increased.

In Action, Western Europe Constantly Explores Feasible Ways To Strengthen Its Defenses.

After the war, all countries in Western Europe began to search for ways to establish cooperation in European defense matters. At the beginning of the fifties, France proposed the Pleven plan, which advocated the establishment of a European army; in 1954 it ended in failure. Entering the sixties, because America's protection was daily becoming more unreliable, Western Europe even more strengthened its determination for joint self-defense, but the process of joint self-defense was long and tortuous and the results were not striking. In the eighties, there appeared in Western Europe a new impetus for defense cooperation.

1. From First to Last France Has Been the Main Force Pushing European Defense Cooperation.

In the sixties, De Gaulle vigorously promoted a European defense alliance, obviously out of his lack of confidence in America. In 1961 and 1962, the Political Cooperation Committee headed by France's representative Fouchet at the European Economic Community [EEC] proposed a plan, which suggested that the EEC member countries, on the basis of maintaining their sovereignty, establish an alliance and unify their foreign policies and which called for the carrying out of a common defense policy. The Fouchet plan on the one hand was too highbrow to be popular and on the other hand there existed a conflict of interests between the countries. In particular, the other five countries were not willing and did not dare to take the risk of replacing America's protection with France's protection. Thus, in the end it failed. For this

reason De Gaulle turned to making the promotion of French-German cooperation the starting point of a West European alliance. In 1963 the two countries signed at the Elysee Palace the "Treaty Between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of France on German-French Cooperation." An important part of the treaty was cooperation in defense matters. Its goal was to "reach common ideas" on strategy and tactics. However, the Elysee Treaty still did not draw a lesson from the failure of the Fouchet plan and still landed Germany in the predicament of choosing between America and France, with the result that the clause on cooperation between France and Germany in defense matters became a mere scrap of paper. In 1973, although the French and German governments again made an effort in this respect they only discussed it without reaching a decision.

In the eighties, in view of the changes in the international situation, Europe's security faced new threats, and France once more sponsored European defense cooperation. In February 1982, a French-German summit meeting again "exchanged views on the security question." In October the talks between the foreign and defense ministers of the two countries, reimplemented the clause on defense cooperation in the 1963 Elysee Treaty, indicating that French-German defense cooperation had entered a new stage. In February 1984, at The Hague French President Mitterrand called on Europeans to make greater efforts for their own security, and proposed the restoration of the West European Alliance, which had been slumbering for 30 years. In June and October of the same year the member countries of the West European Alliance held two conferences at ministerial level which adopted the "Rome Declaration" and statement. In April 1985, after all countries of Western Europe had taken part in strategic defense studies at America's invitation, Mitterrand quickly proposed the "Eureka Plan," with the aim of establishing a "Technological Europe." Although the "Eureka Plan" is a plan for cooperation in sophisticated civilian technologies, some of the technologies are suitable for military affairs and are of significance for preparing for Europe's space defense. After the "Eureka Plan" was proposed, it quickly obtained a response from more than 10 European countries, and within a few short months passed from the stage of a verbal proposal to the stage of concrete implementation.

In the eighties, compared with the sixties, there has been a very big change in France's promotion of European defense cooperation. First, in defense policy, France and the other West European countries are gradually drawing closer. The core issue of France's defense policy is its worry about Germany. However, because of the changes in the international situation and the European situation, what France is currently concerned about is the appearance of a certain tendency toward "neutralism" in Federal Germany, and therefore it hopes that Federal Germany will tighten and not loosen its relations with NATO. At the same time France has built closer relations with NATO, and its three major political parties endorse, to varying degrees, the expansion of the scope of France's deterrence to Federal Germany. Therefore, the traditional view that there is an antagonism between the Atlantic Alliance and French-German security cooperation has lost its basis for existence. Next, drawing a lesson from the sixties, France gives appropriate consideration to the plight of its partners and no longer, with an overbearing attitude, makes excessively high demands on them. This has greatly reduced the misgivings of the other West European countries. The obstacles that in the sixties had

blocked French-German and European defense cooperation are being gradually reduced.

2. Britain Is Striving To Strengthen Its Cooperation With Europe Within the NATO Framework, and Is Avoiding a Repetition of Its Mistake in the Fifties of Refusing To Take Part in the EEC.

Britain and America have a special relationship, but after the war Britain's national strength gradually declined. It lost its position in the world as a great power and was forced to admit that its place was in Europe. As for the question of America's nuclear protection, in Britain, as in other European countries, there was no lack of misgivings. In 1964 and 1970, in White Papers on defense matters Britain pointed out: "Considering the possibility that the Soviet Union will mistakenly estimate that America is unwilling to defend Western Europe, Europe's own force needs to be established" and "developed into a force of Europe's individual defense character." (4) However, Britain, unlike Germany, to lessen America's irritation, has always explored the development of mechanisms for European military cooperation within the framework of NATO. In 1963, under Britain's impetus, a European group was set up in NATO. It was a cooperative mechanism for studying the improvement of Europe's defense and weapons procurement, but France did not join it.

In the eighties, Britain on the one hand heightened its enthusiasm for participating in defense cooperation and on the other hand drew a lesson from its refusal in the fifties to join the European alliance. Therefore, with regard to France's initiating activities to restore the West European Alliance and its "Eureka Plan," Britain, although hesitating at the beginning, swiftly switched to support of them for fear that it would "miss the bus" and again meet with a failure. However, Britain still retains its own distinctive features. From first to last it maintains that European security cannot be separated from NATO. Therefore, the preconditions for Britain's participation in European defense cooperation is that this cooperation must neither replace NATO nor exclude America. In addition, Britain thinks that the most suitable mechanism for effecting European arms cooperation is still the European Independent Planning Group (set up in 1976 and composed of all member countries of the European group with the addition of France) of the European group in NATO and that the West European Alliance is only a platform for discussing defense policies.

3. Following the Strengthening of Its National Power and Political Position, Federal Germany's Attitude Toward European Defense Cooperaton Is Shifting From Passive To Active.

Federal Germany is a frontline country, and its position is extremely sensitive. Once a conflict occurs the war will first be fought on its territory. To prevent the whole war being fought on Germany's territory, its security first of all is established on a credible "deterrent capability." In addition, out of consideration for the existence in Europe for a long time of "Germanophobia," Federal Germany, although also mistrustful of America's nuclear protection, was willing to strengthen European defense cooperation, but on the surface always took a passive attitude and an attitude of willingness to play a minor role. With the arrival of the eighties, there was

a new impetus for development in European defense cooperation, and because there was a change in Germany's position it took part in this cooperation with a new active attitude. For example, Federal Germany and France together became the driving force for European defense cooperation; in November 1981 the defense ministers of Federal Germany set forth the "Genscher-Colombo Proposal," which proposed the establishment of a European political alliance, the strengthening of political cooperation, and the inclusion of the security issue within the scope of European political cooperation. This proposal became the basis for the resolution of the EEC's Stuttgart conference in 1983. However, Federal Germany still had its difficulties. Obviously, it could not, like France, have a free hand. Besides, like Britain, making a point of stressing that European defense cooperation must not be set against NATO and must not adversely affect America's obligation to protect Europe, it must take into account, while participating in European defense cooperation, the avoidance of an adverse affect on its cooperative relationship with its eastern neighbor.

In addition, just as in the past, Italy in the eighties has taken a positive attitude toward European defense cooperation, and has taken the initiative to put forward a proposal for unity. The Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Greece, and Portugal are not without suspicions about the motives of the Euroepan great powers, but they also hope to get advantages from European defense cooperation. Therefore, provided Britain, France, and Germany are determined to cooperate, the other countries will probably go along.

Looking back on the 37-year history of NATO, America in the past was, at present is, and in the foreseeable future will still be the strong one in the European-American military alliance, and Europe's security will still need the protection of America's nuclear forces and the American forces stationed in Europe. Europe's independent defense is still a long-term struggle goal. However, from another aspect one can see that since 1957, following the drop in Europe's degree of confidence in America's nuclear protection, Europe's will to unite to become stronger has been enhanced. After close to 30 years of a long process of groping, Europe drew lessons from a large number of failures, and at the beginning of the eighties a new impetus for development appeared. The main manifestations of this are: a marked enhancement of the sense of urgency about strengthening European defense cooperation; an increase in the common points in the foreign and defense policies of the principal countries; and more practical and more serious exploratory steps. Of course, there should be a full estimate of the difficulties in European defense cooperation. No matter whether it is the 13 European countries of NATO, the 12 countries of the EEC, or the 7 countries of the European Alliance, there exist numerous contradictions among them. However, it may be believed that provided their determination is strong and their methods are correct, they will certainly be able to obtain practical results in arms production and procurement and in coordination of defense policies that will promote the great cause of European unity.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) (Pierre Gaillard): "America's New Foreign Policy and Europe's Security," France's REVUE DE DEFENSE NATIONALE, issue No 4, 1963.
- (2) Richard J. Barnet: "The Alliance: America-Europe-Japan--Makers of the Postwar World," 1983, Simon and Schuster, New York.
- (3) Speech by Kohl in Munich on 9 February 1985 at a mass meeting on international defense studies; statement issued 27 March 1985 by the Federal German Government on America's Strategic Defense Initiative.
- (4) "Can Deterrent Last?" 1984, Britain's Triservice Magazine Publishing House.

9727
CSO: 4005/857

GENERAL

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

USSR, SRV FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET IN MOSCOW

0W121430 Beijing XINHUA in English 1356 GMT 12 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow, July 12 (XINHUA)--Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met Friday with Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach to discuss relations between the two countries, the official Soviet News Agency TASS reported today

TASS said that the foreign ministers discussed "some issues of mutual interest," but gave no details.

The meeting followed the death Thursday of 79-year-old Le Duan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party.

TASS said Shevardnadze and Nguyen expressed "satisfaction with the high level of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation" and stressed their determination to "deepen cooperation in the fight to prevent the threat of nuclear war, to strengthen peace and universal security, including that of the Asian-Pacific region."

TASS did not say when Nguyen arrived in Moscow.

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CSO: 4000/327

GENERAL

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

SOVIET OFFICIAL, PALESTINIAN TALKS--Damascus, July 23 (XINHUA)--A visiting senior Soviet official today discussed with a Damascus-based Palestinian organization on the Mideast situation arising from the current visit of Israeli Premier Shimon Peres to Morocco. A communique issued after the talks said the two sides discussed the critical situation arising from Peres' visit to Morocco and necessary measures to be adopted to counter its consequences. The talks were between Victor Patovalock, Deputy Director of the Middle East Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, [name and title as received] and George Habash, General Secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Patovalock met with Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar here yesterday and discussed with him the Mideast situation, the Palestine issue and the Iran-Iraq war. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1814 GMT 23 Jul 86 OW] /7051

CSO: 4000/327

SOVIET UNION

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC-SOVIET RAILWAY TRANSPORT PROTOCOL SIGNED

OW310835 Beijing in Russian to the USSR 1800 GMT 30 Jul 86

[Text] The 1986 Joint Chinese-Soviet Border Railway Commission closed its session in Harbin on 29 July. During the 7-day session the Chinese and Soviet railway delegations summed up the results of international freight transportation in 1985 and the first half of 1986. They unanimously believe that both parties have made a positive contribution towards fulfillment of joint transportation tasks.

In order to fulfill the plan of increasing international freight transportation for 1986, the two parties held consultations on improving the work of transport organizations, goods delivery, and transportation at transshipment (?points); a new protocol was signed. (Huang Maogu), head of the PRC railway delegation and chief of the PRC Harbin Railway Administration, and Ivanov, head of the USSR railway delegation and chief of the USSR Far Eastern Railway Administration, signed the protocol.

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CSO: 1829/271

SOVIET UNION

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY ORGANIZES SOIREE HONORING CHINESE AUTHOR

OW250257 Beijing in Russian to the USSR 1800 GMT 22 Jul 86

[Text] A soiree was held on 21 July at the House of Friendship in Moscow on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the birth of the famous Chinese author Mao Dun.

The soiree was organized by the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society. The jubilee meeting was chaired by (Kolomovich), deputy chairman of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society.

(Gorokin), member of the board of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society and head of the literature department of the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, read a report on the life and work of Mao Dun. A Chinese documentary film was shown.

A Delegation of Aktivists of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and Chinese-Soviet Friendship Association headed by Comrade Liang Geng, and officials of the Chinese Embassy in the USSR were present at the soiree by invitation.

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CSO: 1829/271

GORBACHEV ADOPTS MEASURES TO SPUR FARM OUTPUT

OW300918 Beijing XINHUA in English 0858 GMT 30 Apr 86

["Roundup: Gorbachev's New Steps Towards Agricultural Reform"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, 30 April (XINHUA)--Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has recently authorized the adoption of a series of measures in an attempt to spur agricultural production, the most backward sector in the Soviet economy.

The Soviet Union has suffered from poor grain harvests for seven successive years, which caused food shortages on the domestic market and tied down the entire national economy. Grain imports, about 40 million tonnes a year since 1979, have cost the country large amounts of hard-to-earn foreign exchange.

Gorbachev had been a party central committee secretary responsible for agriculture before he became general secretary of the party in March last year.

The Soviet government had tried hard in the past few years to change the adverse situation in agriculture, but the process of improvement was too slow to satisfy the Kremlin leadership.

"A decisive turn is needed in the agrarian sector to improve the food supply," Gorbachev said in his address to the 27th Party Congress in late February.

Agricultural reform was thus made one of his priorities when he issued a loud call from the party gathering for a "radical reform" in the Soviet economy.

The first move on the road of reform was the merger last November of the agriculture and five other related ministries into a state agro-industrial committee as the central body for management of the country's agro-industrial complexes.

The measure was apparently designed to stop the endless squabbling, which had been commonplace among these ministries, over production planning, material distribution and other issues. The new committee was also expected to concentrate financial and material resources and technical potentials for a better use.

Another major policy change Gorbachev has introduced is to "substantially broaden the autonomy of collective farms and state farms."

He told the 27th party congress that "an end must be put to incompetent interference in productive activity in the rural areas" and that "the farms will be given the opportunity to use all the produce harvested over and above the plan."

To give farmers more incentives, the Soviet leader has also signalled the green light to the system of family contracts, for years a controversial issue in the country. He said: "The contract and job-by-job systems of payment at the levels of teams, groups and families, to whom means of production, including land, will be assigned for a period specified by contract, will be widespread."

Since the party congress, the Soviet press has given much praise to the experiment in the new systems as "very efficient," farm produce or labor productivity of the teams and groups which are carrying out the systems is reportedly 10-30 percent higher than before, and that of families still higher.

To make farmers more responsible for the final results of their production, Gorbachev has decided to enforce the principle of self-support in farm units. "The role of cost accounting will be substantially increased," he stated.

A government resolution adopted at the end of last month on "further refinement of the machinery of economic management in the agro-industrial complex" stipulates that all sectors of the agro-industrial complex and, first of all, collective and state farms, will turn to "self-repayment, self-funding and self-sufficient running."

By taking these measures, the Kremlin leader hopes that the country will get substantial returns from investments in agriculture and that farm production will "fully meet the country's food needs in the shortest time possible."

Gorbachev appears determined to put his new agrarian policy into practice in order to make a breakthrough in the country's trouble-ridden economy. But it is believed that a fundamental change in agriculture will not take place easily without more specific and resolute measures to back up his ambitious plan.

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CSO: 4000/326

FEATURE ON USSR COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

OW231234 Beijing XINHUA in English 1118 GMT 23 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow, July 23 (XINHUA)--Cooperative organizations, the collective sector of the soviet economy, have begun to claim their place in the soviet economic structure.

Drifting away from centralized state planning, these organizations have come to the attention of state authorities and have now been determined as playing a greater role in production and peoples' lives.

In the Soviet Union, cooperative organizations refer to collective farms, consumers' production cooperatives, construction cooperatives of various kinds, as well as production, gardening, vegetables and animal husbandry cooperatives.

For years, however, the role of these collective economic organizations had been underestimated or even curbed in varying degrees although they have now been recognized as "working effectively" and enjoying many advantages.

Before 1982, collective farms had been subjected to repeated reshuffles with large numbers being incorporated into state farms. Compared with 1965, the number of collective farms had been trimmed by nearly 10,000 in 1984 and collectively-owned land shrunk by more than 50 million hectares.

Consumers' cooperatives have registered little progress for years, now accounting for only ten percent of the total volume of the domestic circulation of commodities.

Floor space built by construction cooperatives has dropped substantially compared to the late 1960s. During the period 1981-85 cooperative-built floor space made up only seven percent of the national total. By comparison, the proportions of cooperative building floor space in Bulgaria, democratic Germany and Poland was 30, 33 and 47 percent respectively for the same period.

But the advantages of the cooperative economy have recently been given due attention in soviet economic circles. Measures have been called for to "fully tap the potential of the cooperative organizations" with a view to promoting social productive forces and meeting the people's demands.

The ongoing nationwide economic reforms in the Soviet Union are seen closely behind the effort to reactivate the collective economy's role.

Many economists have recognized the conditions for the existence of cooperative organizations in socialist society. They said cooperatives have proved successful in linking the interests of the individual to those of the collective and society as a whole.

Collective farms also prove more profitable than state farms. In the Soviet Republic of Estonia, only after economic accounting was introduced in state farms have production targets come up to those of collective farms.

Economists also believe that the development of cooperative businesses is an ideal way to solve the contradictions between central planning and decentralized management.

They point out that the old practice of central planning dominating almost all economic activities, instead of contributing to strengthening socialism, has made the economy abnormal and people indifferent to material resources.

Enterprises, where responsibility for profits or losses has been absent, have operated badly and incurred huge debts as a result of lack of responsibility by workers.

In cooperative organizations, income levels are tied to work efficiency and thus produce better performance.

To exploit the advantages of the cooperatives, authorities are planning a more efficient managing mechanism. Officials in these organizations are urged to be more responsible in upgrading the existing organizations and fostering those which have introduced new technologies.

Other cooperative forms are being considered, including car repair services, services for house repair and installation of gas and heating systems.

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CSO: 4000/326

GORBACHEV DISCUSSES POLITICAL REFORM IN KHABAROVSK

OW010600 Beijing XINHUA in English 0529 GMT 1 Aug 86

[Text] Moscow, 31 July (XINHUA)--Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on the last day of his Soviet Far East tour said Soviet citizens should study how to best carry out reform during the ongoing process of reform, the official news agency TASS reported.

In a meeting with party officials of the Khabarovsk (Boli) territory before returning to Moscow after his 7-day tour of the Soviet Far East, Gorbachev said he equates "reorganization" with "revolution."

And the significance of the "reorganization" currently underway in the country is great, the Soviet leader added.

He said that the "reorganization" is not confined to the economy, noting that "it embraces the political, social and other areas of life."

Gorbachev criticized several academics for being too rigid in their interpretations of socialism and called for creativity in developing political theories.

Gorbachev started his Far-Eastern tour on 25 July and made a speech on foreign affairs and home economic reform during the visit.

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CSO: 4000/327

BRIEFS

PRC FILM SHOWN IN USSR--Moscow, 7 July (XINHUA)--A Chinese film was shown in a Moscow cinema today to mark the 30th anniversary of the Sino-Soviet agreement on cultural cooperation. A Chinese film delegation and Chinese diplomats in Moscow attended the film reception. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0032 GMT 8 Jul 86 OW] /7051

SOVIET RAILWAY DELEGATION--At the invitation of a Chinese railway department, an 11-member railway delegation of the Soviet Union, headed by (Yimanov), director of the Soviet Far East railway bureau, arrived in Harbin by train on 23 July to participate in the 1986 annual meeting of the Sino-Soviet Border Railway Joint Committee. Meeting the delegation at the railway station were all members of the Chinese railway delegation, headed by (Ha Maochun), director of the Harbin Railway Bureau. The Soviet and Chinese delegations will discuss the issues on the freight and passenger transport services of the Sino-Soviet border railway. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 23 Jul 86 OW] /7051

SOVIET DELEGATION VISITS HOHHOT--A Soviet friendship delegation headed by the secretary general of the Chita regional chapter of the USSR-China Friendship Association ended its visit in our region and left Hohhot by train on the afternoon of 24 July. During its visit in Hohhot, the delegation was received and feted by Bai Junqing, vice chairman of the regional government. During the interview, Vice Chairman Bai Junqing reviewed the friendship between the people of China and the USSR and sincerely hoped that the relationship between the two countries would improve steadily and develop in the future through the concerted efforts of the governments and the peoples of both countries. Vice Chairman Bai Junqing also introduced to the delegation the region's achievements in socialist modernization construction in the past few years, particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. (Li Wenchang), vice president of the Nei Monggol regional chapter of the China-USSR Friendship Association, also attended the interview. During its stay in the region, the delegation visited some plants in Hohhot and Baotou cities. The delegation members also visited some herdsman families in Siziwang Banner. [Summary] [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 24 Jul 86 SK] /9733

CSO: 4005/893

JAPANESE WHITE PAPER STRESSES DEFENSE BUILDUP

OW081414 Beijing XINHUA in English 1400 GMT 8 Aug 86

[Excerpt] Tokyo, August 8 (XINHUA)--Japan will step up its defense buildup as it faces what it calls the Soviet Union's "conspicuously" increased military presence in the Far East region surrounding Japan.

This defense policy was laid out in this year's defense White Paper endorsed by the cabinet today.

The defense agency's annual White Paper gives the government's view on the world and regional military situations and outlines of the nation's basic defense policy.

The defense agency called Japan's defense buildup "an urgent task."

The paper warns in particular of "a latent threat" to Japan imposed by "the remarkable buildup of Soviet forces in the Far East and the intensification of related activities."

Although reciprocal visits were made by foreign ministers of Japan and the Soviet Union, "no change has yet been seen in the trends of Soviet's increase of its military forces and its active movements of military forces in the Far East," the paper says.

The Soviets now have "more than" 162 SS-22 nuclear missiles and 85 TU-22 strategic backfire bombers deployed in the Far East, both of which were non-existent ten years ago, it notes.

The document maps out what Japan's basic defense policy should be, namely to "improve and enhance its defense capabilities," and depend on the U.S.-Japanese security arrangements "for areas Japan's defense capability cannot cover."

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CSO: 4000/327

TOLENTINO CHARGED WITH REBELLION IN PHILIPPINES

OW281742 Beijing XINHUA in English 1550 GMT 28 Jul 86

[Excerpts] Manila, 28 July (XINHUA)--Philippine government today filed rebellion charges against former Senator Arturo Toletino with 40 other persons, including military officers, in connection with the failed Manila Hotel coup, the Philippine News Agency reported today.

The police report on the failed coup consists of affidavits of witnesses and other documentary evidence pointing out a concerted effort of Marcos loyalists and their military supporters to "put up a government in place of the legally existing one under President Aquino."

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CSO: 4000/327

ZHONGGUO TONGXUN SHE ON SINO-INDIAN BORDER TALKS

HK180403 Hong Kong ZHONGGUO TONGXUN SHE in Chinese 1140 GMT 17 Jul 86

[Breakthroughs Are Unlikely at the Seventh Round of Sino-Indian Talks"]

[Text] The long-drawn-out Sino-Indian border talks will be reopened in Beijing from 21 to 23 this month. This will be the seventh round of talks between the two sides since December 1981.

An Indian External Affairs Ministry official said the other day that the Indian side had lodged a serious protest with the Chinese side on the intrusion of Chinese frontier guards last month into the Indian territory of (Sangtoro) [Sang Duo Luo 2718 1122 3157] river valley on the eastern section of the Sino-Indian border. A Chinese Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman, however, refuted the charges yesterday and indicated that, since the Indian side had completely turned the facts upside down, the Chinese side of course rejected the unreasonable protest lodged by the Indian side. The existence of such serious differences between the Chinese and Indian sides on the border issue has cast a shadow over the forthcoming talks.

Extending for some 2,000 km, the Sino-Indian border is divided into the eastern, middle, and western sections. It has never been officially delimited. China and India have disputes over the three sections, particularly over the eastern section. The eastern section refers to the section of the Sino-Indian border between the juncture of China, Indian, and Bhutan and the juncture of China, India, and Burma. The disputed area includes the portion of the north of the traditional line and to the south of the so-called "McMahon Line," covering some 90,000 square km.

It is learned that in the first six rounds of talks, the Chinese side put forward a series of proposals, maintaining that, in solving the Sino-Indian border issue, it is necessary to take into consideration the historical background, practical circumstances, and the national feelings of both countries and to strive for a complete solution, which is fair and reasonable to both sides, through friendly consultation and mutual understanding and accommodation. In the meantime, it also indicated that, in order to reach a complete solution, it would not object to discussing the Sino-Indian border

section by section. The Indian side also put forward its own draft proposals. In an attempt to seek common ground, both sides seriously exchanged views and opinions.

Left over from the past, the Sino-Indian border issue is complicated. Both sides are aware that, while striving for a solution to the border issue, both countries should restore and develop friendly exchanges and cooperation in various fields in order to create conditions for the solution of the border issue. In recent years, relations between the two countries in economic, trade, scientific, and technological cooperation and cultural exchanges have developed to some extent. The Sino-Indian trade agreement signed in August 1984, in particular, is of positive significance in promoting the economic and trade relations between the two countries. According to the agreement, the trade volume between the two countries will reach \$1 billion in 1989, while the total volume of bilateral trade from 1983 to 1985 was only \$60 million.

However, the atmosphere has cooled again on the eve of the seventh round of the Sino-Indian border talks. Both sides have even censured each other publicly. Obviously, this is not conducive to the solution of the border issue between the two countries.

China and India jointly initiated the five principles of peaceful coexistence. According to these principles, problems between one country and another, including the border issue, can be entirely solved fairly and reasonably. People hope that China and India will be able to adopt a positive forward-looking attitude, continue to work for improved relations, and create the necessary conditions and fine atmosphere for the ultimate solution of the border issue.

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CSO: 4005/896

BRIEFS

GDR'S SINDERMANN MEETS DELEGATION--Berlin, July 8 (XINHUA)--Horst Sindermann, president of the Democratic German People's Chamber, said today that he was satisfied with the development of the friendly relations between the parliaments of China and Democratic Germany. Meeting with a law delegation from the Chinese National People's Congress, Sindermann briefed the Chinese guests on his country's economic strategies to the year 2000 and its successful social welfare policy. The delegation, which arrived here on June 27 and will leave on July 10, exchanged views on socialist legal systems with members of the Democratic German Constitution and Law Committee and Supreme Court. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0057 GMT 9 Jul 86 OW] /6091

POLISH REBIRTH DAY NOTED--Beijing, July 19 (XINHUA)--A reception was given here this afternoon to mark the 42nd anniversary of the rebirth of Poland. In his speech, Liu Gengyin, vice-president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, praised the achievements of the Polish people in socialist construction. Herbert Kusnierz, chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Polish Embassy in China, expressed the belief that friendly relations of cooperation between Poland and China will develop more smoothly. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1001 GMT 19 Jul 86 OW] /6091

CSO: 4000/320

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HU YAOBANG WRITES TITLE FOR PARTY MEMBERS MONUMENT

SK040436 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 0930 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Excerpts] The monument of Comrade (Zhu Dehai), an excellent communist party member, a loyal communist fighter, an outstanding political activist of Korean Nationality, and former principal leader of the Yanbian Korean Nationality Autonomous Prefecture, was unveiled in Yanji City. The monument was established in accordance with Comrade Hu Yaobang's opinions. Comrade Hu Yaobang also wrote the title for the monument.

Presenting wreaths to the monument were more than 10 units, including the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee, the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee, the provincial People's congress, the provincial government, the provincial CPPCC Committee, the provincial Discipline Inspection Commission, the provincial Nationalities Affairs Commission, the Heilongjiang Provincial CPPCC Committee, and the Liaoning Provincial Nationalities Affairs Commission.

Comrade (Zhu Dehai's) wife unveiled the monument as soon as the ceremony started. After that, Wang Zhongyu, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC Committee, delivered a speech at the ceremony on behalf of the provincial CPC Committee, the provincial Advisory Commission, the provincial People's Congress, the provincial government, the provincial CPPCC Committee, the provincial Discipline Inspection Commission, and the provincial Military District. On behalf of the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee and the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, Huang Guangxue, deputy director of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, made a speech at the ceremony. Also attending today's unveiling ceremony were leading comrades of the province, including Zhao Xiu, Cui Lin, Lin Shulin, Zhang Fengqi, Che Minqiao, and Jin Minghan; responsible comrades of the Yanbian Korean Nationality Autonomous Prefectural CPC Committee, including Li Dezhu, (Zhang Dejiang), and (Wang Zailin); and comrade (Zhu Dehai's) friends, family members and children.

Comrade (Zhu Dehai's) Memorial Hall which was established in the Yanbian Museum also opened today.

Comrade Hu Yaobang wrote the title for Comrade (Zhu Dehai's) biography. Comrade Song Renqiong wrote a preface for Cormade (Zhu Dehai's) biography.

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CSO: 4005/919

VICE MINISTER OF CULTURE GAO ZHANXIANG ON ART OF LEADERSHIP

Shijiazhuang GONGCHANDANGYUAN [COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER] in Chinese No 3,
10 Mar 86 pp 13-25

[Article by Gao Zhanxiang [7559 0594 4382], vice minister of culture: "Ten Questions on the Art of Leadership"]

[Excerpts] Leadership is a science and also an art. This article discusses questions concerning the art of leadership.

Art refers to talents and skills. The term art applies to every aspect of social life.

The art of leadership is a skill formed by scientific knowledge, practical experience, creative ability, thinking, moral character and many other factors. So far it is the most complex and most valuable kind of art.

The art of leadership is a very broad subject, and it is difficult to cover all aspects of it. I can only give my personal views on the more important aspects of the art of leadership. There are 10 points I would like to discuss.

1. Marxism-Leninism is the soul of the art of leadership.

The art of leadership we talk about is the Marxist art of leadership. To master this kind of leadership, we must take the Marxist theory as guidance. As we know, there have been leadership activities since the dawn of history, and the art of leadership, or skills and methods used in leadership activities, has long been in existence. A great deal of experiences have been accumulated in this area, which can be used for reference. Brilliant examples of the art of leadership are found in history books such as the "Zhanguo Ce [Records of the Warring States]," "Sunzi Bingfa [Master Sun's Art of War]," "Shi Ji [Book of History]," "San Guo Zhi [Annals of the Three Kingdoms]," "Zi Zhi Tong Jian [Mirror of History]" and so forth. We should explore the valuable treasures in these books.

Now some Japanese enterprises request every manager to study "Sunzi Bingfa" and grasp the art of decision-making from it. Generally speaking, however, before the birth of Marxism, the art of leadership was only limited to

accumulation of simple experiences, and there was no scientific guiding principles and no solid theoretical basis.

Comrade Mao Zedong's works, such as "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership," "Be Concerned With the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work," "Methods of Work of Party Committees," "On Strengthening the Party Committee System" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," are all scientific works on leadership.

There are good experiences in modern Western management science, which we can learn and use for reference. But such learning must be guided by Marxist-Leninist theories and assimilated analytically and critically. If we accept and copy foreign experiences mechanically and uncritically without the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and without considering China's conditions, we will sound like foreigners, swallowing foreign knowledge without digesting it, and we will lose our bearings and even cause confusion.

Marxist theory is the foundation of the science of leadership and the soul of the art of leadership. In actual work, we should make the level of one's understanding of Marxist theory one of the important bases for evaluating, selecting and promoting cadres.

A cadre, who does not understand Marxism-Leninism and is unwilling to make a serious effort to study, will not become a good leader. In contrast, the one who has a more solid theoretical foundation will be able to make progress faster, grasp the art of leadership better and temper himself into a firm, clear-headed and purposeful leader.

2. Adherence to principle is the pillar of the art of leadership.

We stress adherence to principle. What principles should we adhere to? I think that we should first of all adhere to the four cardinal principles, that is, adhering to the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, the party's leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "To achieve the four modernizations, we must adhere to the four cardinal principles."

By stressing adherence to principle in leadership activities, we do not mean that we should go rigidly by dogmas regardless of changes in time, place and other conditions, meeting changes by not changing. On the contrary, our party has always encouraged the clever combination of principle with flexibility. While upholding principle, we must also be flexible. To the extent permitted by principle, we should work in a flexible way suited to the time and circumstances.

3. Scientific decision-making is the core of the art of leadership.

Making decisions is the principal duty of leaders, the core of the art of leadership. The process of leadership is one of making and implementing decisions. Without decision-making, there is no need for leadership.

Decisions are divided into experience decisions and scientific decisions. Experience decisions are decisions made by a leader on the basis of his personal experience and wisdom. To succeed as a leader, one must make the transition from traditional experience-based decision-making to scientific decision-making.

A scientific decision is made when a leader makes a selection from a number of plans for action to achieve the best possible result through a scientific mode of thinking.

To apply the principles and methods of scientific decision-making in leadership work, special attention should be paid to the following.

First, information is the basis of decision-making. Decisions based on inaccurate or insufficient information are bound to be faulty. Modern leaders must have a very strong sense of information and combine knowledge with information and strategic thinking.

Second, it is necessary to conceive several plans and choose one from among them. Scientific decision-making is to choose from among a number of plans the superior plan which will produce the best result at the lowest cost. Without comparison and selection of the best, there can hardly be a scientific decision. Decision-makers should give full play to the role of consultant and advisory personnel and think tanks, allowing them to use freely their specialized knowledge and draft a variety of plans for consideration.

Third, special attention should be paid to different opinions. A good decision is often made not by unanimous agreement, but emerges from conflicting ideas expressed in a lively discussion.

Fourth, it is necessary to give full play to the role of the consultant and advisory bodies. Modern leaders must make good use of the think tanks. They key to making good use of think tanks is not to confuse them with secretarial staffs. The mission of a secretarial staff is to understand and implement the leader's intentions. A think tank serves the leadership in decision-making by conducting independent scientific studies. We should pay attention to the development of think tanks, give full play to their role and raise the scientific level of our decision-making.

4. Forecasting the future is the life of the art of leadership.

Scientifically forecasting the future is a cognitive activity carried out for scientific decision-making and effective control of the progress of things. It is also an important part of the Marxist art of leadership.

The key to doing a good job in forecasting is to grasp the objective laws. We must not make forecasts on the basis of personal feelings and subjective wishes.

Investigation and study is an important way to know the objective laws and make scientific forecasts on the trend of development of things. To meet

the requirements of modernization, in addition to holding small investigation meetings, staying at selected grassroots units, "dissecting a sparrow" and so forth, we must also pay attention to socialized investigation and study. Under conditions of large-scale socialized production, man's activities have expanded both in time and space. It is necessary to pay attention to statistical work and forecasts in the political, economic, scientific, technological, market and other fields and keep abreast of developments through socialized investigations. At the same time, attention must also be paid to conducting investigation and study in a scientific way.

Finding good, competent people is the key to the art of leadership.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "In the final analysis, leadership involves two main responsibilities: to work out ideas, and to use cadres well." All plans, decisions, orders, instructions and so forth belong to the category of "working out ideas." The implementation of all ideas must rely on the cadres and belongs to the category of "using cadres well." Comrade Hu Yaobang also pointed out in his report to the 12th CPC National Congress that party leadership is mainly political and ideological leadership in matters of principle and policy and in the selection, allocation, assessment and supervision of cadres. It is thus obvious that the most important responsibilities of leadership are to make decisions and to choose the right persons for the right jobs. Decision-making is, of course, an important responsibility of leadership, but the drawing up of a policy and its implementation depend ultimately on the quality and standard of cadres at various levels. Therefore, in a certain sense, choosing good, competent people and knowing them well enough to assign them jobs commensurate with their abilities is the most important art of leadership.

In choosing people, the authority of practical standards must be respected, and attention must be paid to merits. Lenin said: "The practice of mankind as a whole must be taken as the criterion of truth." We must use this viewpoint to observe and use cadres. Whether or not a person is competent is not judged by what he says, nor by some leader's subjective impression of and personal relations with him, but by his actual performance, the result of his work as a whole and the successes he has achieved in work.

6. Clearly defined responsibilities and delegation of authority contribute to scientific leadership.

Good leadership lies in clearly defined responsibilities and delegation of authority. A leader, no matter how bright and capable, cannot do everything within his jurisdiction by himself.

By clearly defined responsibilities we mean the leadership should clearly define the responsibilities of subordinate units or staff members under its jurisdiction and set up a strict personal responsibility system so that they will each perform their duties and fulfill their responsibilities. Delegation of authority is when a leader authorizes his subordinates to do some work, which is part of his own job but can also be assigned to subordinates.

Clearly defined responsibilities are the precondition for proper delegation of authority.

In leadership work, it is extremely important to master and apply the art of delegation of authority.

To master the art of delegation of authority, it is necessary first of all to make clear what powers can be delegated, and what cannot be delegated, to subordinates and, in the former case, to what extent. Generally speaking, except the key or crucial part of the leadership's work, all other work can be delegated; all work which can be done equally well or better by subordinates can be delegated; and all decisions which should be made by subordinates should be carried out by subordinates. For example, data gathering and analytical work in drawing up a plan and, after a decision is made, the details of implementation and repetitive and less important work can be delegated to subordinates. But the key or crucial part of the leadership's work, which is a matter of grave responsibility, cannot be delegated. For example, matters which should be decided by the leadership, appointment and dismissal of cadres and reward and punishment of workers and staff, which should be managed by the leadership, and so forth cannot be delegated. Moreover, the delegation of power cannot exceed the leader's own authority. For example, a subdepartment chief cannot delegate the authority of his department chief or his section chiefs, and he can only delegate part of his own authority as subdepartment chief. Otherwise, confusion in powers and responsibilities will inevitably result. Delegation of authority is not meant to allow the leadership to do no work. We must not think that the best leader is one who delegates the most power to subordinates and does the least work himself. Peter Drucker, author of the "Effective Executive," put it well: "This view is not only nonsense, but immoral."

Delegation of authority is an important and effective art of leadership. But, some comrades do not know how, dare not, or do not want, to delegate powers in work. Some comrades, who are newly promoted to leading positions, still do not know how to delegate powers, and they are running round in circles, doing everything, big and small, themselves. Because they have not delegated powers to others, there is no way for others to help them. This is not knowing how to delegate authority. There are also comrades who dare not delegate authority to subordinates, because they do not trust them. Like Zhuge Liang, they see to everything themselves, for fear others may not be able to do a good job. Then there are those who do not want to delegate powers to subordinates. These comrades always hold fast to their power and never let up, for fear that delegation of power to others might take away from their own value and importance. There are even a few comrades who not only refuse to delegate their own power to subordinates, but take their subordinates' powers into their own hands and become leaders with "too much power." Owing to these ideological problems, it is difficult to delegate power, and even more difficult to transfer power to lower levels. Despite repeated calls for the transfer of power to lower levels in the current reform, some people still hold on fast to powers which should be transferred. For the sake of appearance, they may give a little, but no more. Sometimes, power transferred from higher levels is held up halfway before

reaching the lower level intended. Therefore, to grasp and apply the art of delegation of power, it is necessary not only to constantly explore and gain experience from practice in the course of the reform, but to correct people's thinking and understanding. So long as the leadership at all levels take the overall situation and the interests of work into account and assume a scientific attitude, the above-mentioned incorrect understandings can be corrected, and the art of delegation of power will be grasped by more and more cadres and turned into a powerful material force.

7. Fine tuning is a means to achieve goals.

In leadership work, when the goal has been set, the direction pointed out and the major policy determined, the method of "fine tuning" can be used to organize the cadres and the masses to fight in unity to achieve the general goal. This is an important art of leadership.

How to do a good job of fine tuning? The right degree and minute attention are the basic requirements in applying the art of "fine tuning" in work. Materialist dialectics tells us that all things are qualitative and quantitative unity of opposites, and that degrees are the quantitative limits that maintain the stability of things. To do a good job of fine tuning is to follow adeptly the principle of the right degree in all practical activities. By the right degree, we mean to make a quantitative analysis of what we are doing, pay attention to the "proper limits" and "temperature control," guard against "going too far" and "not going far enough" and strive to find the "optimum degree," so that we can avoid making "leftist" and rightist mistakes and prevent actions prompted by sudden impulses in disregard of objective conditions, causing sudden changes of course and vacillation now to the left and now to the right. In making readjustments in a certain field of work, special attention must be paid to not overdoing it.

8. Simplification is a shortcut to higher efficiency.

I would like to suggest a few simplification methods.

The first method of simplification is to single out the principal contradictions. We must be good at grasping firmly the key link in a complex problem, "cutting the Gordian knot," so that a logical way out can be found in the complex situation and the problem can be solved.

The second method is to simplify the irrational working procedures. Some working procedures are overelaborate, and some are irrational. If they can be straightened out, complex problems can be made simple and clear. For example, in work we often come across matters which can be handled according to established practices, and there is no need to ask for instructions from higher levels. This is a way to increase work efficiency.

The third method is "merging of similar items." This mathematical term is used to show that similar matters can be put together and handled all at once. For example, in the past, we often stressed that each meeting should solve only one problem. The result was added strains on the responsible

comrades at lower levels. This year we have encouraged the holding of "mixed meetings," that is, one meeting solving several problems.

The fourth method is to streamline the administrative structure. One important reason for the complicated procedures and low efficiency is that there are too many organizations, levels and chiefs.

It should be made clear here that what we advocate is "simplification" and not "oversimplification." While we stress simplification, we do not mean that we need not follow the necessary procedures or ask for necessary instructions. There are mental blocks to work simplification. Some comrades are used to the old ways and methods of work and lack the sense of time and the spirit to reform and blaze new trails. Some people allow their selfish ideas to make mischief, creating problems and making easy things difficult, and feel good about themselves for being able to do so. These comrades are turning simple matters into complicated ones. It is necessary on the one hand to conduct ideological education among them to help them get rid of selfish ideas and personal considerations and old habits, and on the other hand to organize them to learn something about scientific leadership and help them master the leadership art of simplification to meet the requirements of the reforms.

9. The encouragement principle is the key to open people's hearts.

A leadership art we should strive to master is to use the encouragement method to arouse people's enthusiasm, initiative and creativity for the four modernizations.

The management of people is an important part of scientific leadership. For any organization, there are two basic methods of people management. One is to encourage and reward people by commendations, citations and awards of prizes. The other is to censure or punish by criticisms, disciplinary actions, or according to law.

The so-called encouragement process is a psychological process through which people are stimulated to contribute their time, energies and wisdom. There are concrete ways to achieve goals by encouragement. A leader's ability to use the proper forms of encouragement is an important mark of his mastery of the leadership art. The forms of encouragement are many and varied. They can be divided roughly into the following types.

--Encouragement by goals. A leader should be good at suggesting and setting socially significant and inspiring goals, and encouraging people to make concerted efforts to achieve these goals.

--Encouragement by leadership conduct. A leader should influence and lead the masses by his own selflessness, frank and forthright stand, strict self-discipline, sincerity and other fine moral characters.

--Encouragement by rewards. Material and spiritual rewards are combined to arouse people's self-confidence and sense of pride, responsibility and achievements.

A leader must be strict and fair in meting out rewards and punishments. Those who fulfill their duties and accomplish their tasks outstandingly should be rewarded; those who neglect their duties and cause losses to the state should be punished; and those who violate the law and discipline should be disciplined or punished according to law. A wise leader always knows how to cleverly combine encouragement with punishment and apply this leadership art to their work.

10. Respect for subordinates is a leadership quality.

Respect for subordinates is a quality leaders should have. It is also a leadership art to arouse the enthusiasm of subordinates.

How should subordinates be respected? I think that there are three ways which merit special attention.

The first is to respect a subordinate's functions and powers. Under ordinary circumstances, do not interfere or meddle arbitrarily in what a subordinate is doing within his authority. When a subordinate has made a decision, so long as it is basically correct, do not upset the subordinate's work plan by hastily asking him to change his original decision. Do not bypass a subordinate to handle directly something that should be handled by him, as this will constitute an infringement on his functions and powers. Subordinates should be trusted and given a free hand to handle what is within their responsibilities.

The second is to respect and listen attentively to a subordinate's views. The subordinates are generally closer to the grassroots level or are on the first line. They have more contacts with the masses, understand the masses' demands better, and are more realistic in thinking over problems.

The third is to respect a subordinate's dignity. Generally this is easy to do. Attention should be paid to adopting a correct attitude toward comrades who have shortcomings or made mistakes.

The 10 questions mentioned above are, of course, only a part of what is known as the art of leadership. To master and apply these leadership arts sucessfully, we must study hard in work and practice.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

YANG SHANGKUI'S FUNERAL HELD IN NANCHANG

OW190540 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1344 GMT 18 Jul 86

[Excerpts] Nanchang, 18 July (XINHUA)--A ceremony was held this morning at the Jiangxi Provincial Revolutionary Martyrs' Memorial Hall to pay final respects to the remains of Comrade Yang Shangkui, an outstanding CPC member, a long-tested loyal communist fighter, and a former member of the CPC Central Advisory Commission.

Wreaths from the following comrades were sent to the ceremony: Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Peng Zhen, Deng Yingchao, Nie Rongzhen, Ulanhu, Wan Li, Xi Zhongxun, Tian Jiyun, Li Peng, Yang Shangkun, Yu Qiuli, Hu Qiaomu, Hu Qili, Yao Yilin, Qin Jiwei, Chen Pixian, Deng Liqun, Hao Jianxiu, Wang Zhaoguo, Wang Zhen, Bo Yibo, Song Renqiong, Wang Ping, Li Yimang, Xiao Ke, Song Shilum, Lu Dingyi, Duan Junyi, Huang Huoqing, Cheng Zihua, Wang Heshou, Peng Chong, Wang Renzhong, Banqen Erdina, Qoigyi Guancan, Seypidin Aizezi, Ye Fei, Liao Hansheng, Han Xianchu, Gu Mu, Ji Pengfei, Zhang Aiping, Yang Yichen, Kang Keqing, Dong Qiwu, Yang Chengwu, Chen Zaidao, Lu Zhengcao, Wang Enmao, Cai Chang, Huang Kecheng, He changgong, and Xiao Jingguang. Wreaths were also received from the CPC Central Advisory Commission, the NPC Standing Committee, the CPPCC National Committee, the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee, the Nanjing Military Region, and the CPC Committees of Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Fujian, Anhui, and Shandong Provinces and Shanghai Municipality. Others sending wreaths to the ceremony were comrades Wan Shaofen, Liu Fangren, Ni Xiance, Xu Qin, and Bai Dongcai.

Huang Zhen, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Advisory Commission, and some other comrades made a special trip to Nanchang to attend the ceremony to pay last homage to Comrade Yang Shangkui's remains on behalf of the CPC Central Advisory Commission.

The ceremony was presided over by Liu Fangren, deputy secretary of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee. Wan Shaofen, secretary of the provincial CPC Committee, addressed the ceremony giving a brief account of Comrade Yang Shangkui's deeds.

Comrade Wan Shaofen said: During the last 50 years or so, Comrade Yang Shangkui, with unwavering loyalty, worked his heart out for, and selflessly devoted his lifetime energies to, the people's liberation cause and the socialist construction of our country. While holding key leading posts in Jiangxi, he indomitably

implemented the party's correct line, principles, and policies, earnestly worked for the party, wholeheartedly served the people, and made indelible contributions to building a socialist new Jiangxi.

Over 1,000 people from various communities in Jiangxi Province attended the ceremony to pay last homage to Comrade Yang Shangkui's remains.

Comrade Yang Shangkui died of illness on 7 July in Nanchang. He was 82.

[Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin at 1000 GMT on 18 July also carries a news report on the above ceremony, saying that Qiang Xiaochu was among those sending wreaths, and (Han Xiaoyu), deputy secretary-general of the Central Advisory Commission, came to Nanchang for the ceremony in addition to Huang Zhen. The report also reveals that among those who sent wreaths and paid final respects to Yang Shangkui's remains were responsible comrades of the provincial CPC Committee, the provincial Advisory Commission, the provincial Discipline Inspection Commission, the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, the provincial government, the provincial Military District, the provincial CPPCC Committee, and the Nanchang Army Academy as well as members of the CPC Central Committee, the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, including Wan Shaofen, Bai Dongcai, Liu Fangren, Ni Xiance, Xu Qin, Wang Zhaorong, Pei Dean, Wang Baotian, (Wang Caihua), Zhao Zhijian, Zhao Zhangyi, Di Sheng, (Huang Xue), Zhu Zhihong, Wang Shufeng, Wang Zemin, Zheng Xiaoxian, Liang Kaixuan, Huang Xiandu, Peng Shenxi, Liu Pin, Qian Jiaming, (Chen Guisun), (Huang Huande), (Wei Changan), Wu Ping, Yang Yongfeng, Lu Xiaopeng, Liu Jiahua, Lu Liang, Li Shanyuan, Wu Yongle, Wu Tiyu, Wu Yunzhong, and (Yang Linxiong)]

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CSO: 4005/919

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO RECALLS YANAN RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT

HK050315 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 86 p 5

[Article by Huang Huoqing [7806 3499 7230], Wang Congwu [3769 1783 0710], Song Shilun [1345 2514 6544], and Guo Shushen [6753 6615 3947]: "Looking Back at the Rectification Movement of the Central Party School in Yanan"]

[Text] It has been 44 years since the Yanan Rectification which began in 1942. That movement was a widespread education in Marxism-Leninsim and in the party's line across the scope of the whole party. It was a great event in our party's history and a great creative movement in building up our party. It enabled our cadres to learn and master the Marxist-Leninsit stand, viewpoint, and methods, and learn and master Mao Zedong Thought, which integrates the general principles of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution, gradually established the work style of seeking truth from facts, heightened their awareness about the party's line, and strengthened their unity. All the cadres who took part in the study at that time have this same impression about the movement and still remember this even now.

I

Before the Rectification Movement, there were 800,000 members in our party, of whom 90 percent were new members who had joined the party since the war of resistance against Japan. These comrades were full of vigor and high revolutionary enthusiasm and they conscientiously wanted to take part in the struggle to resist Japan and in the study of Marxism-Leninism. They placed the hope [word indistinct] in Yanan. In their hearts, the CPC Central Committee had lofty faith. However, unconsciously, quite a few of them had various kinds of nonproletarian thoughts in their minds, such as liberalism, ultraegalitarianism, and ultrademocracy, which were all very conspicuous. Many of our vast numbers of party member cadres had been hoodwinked and influenced by dogmatism. The Zunyu Meeting had already established Comrade Mao Zedong's leading position in the whole party, but before the Rectification Movement, Mao Zedong Thought had not been generally accepted in the party, and dogmatism, empiricism, and the leftist and rightist lines had not been criticized or eliminated. Many of our responsible party cadres had experienced the party's development and setbacks and seen the occurrence of many serious incidents. They had many questions in their minds which needed correct answers. At that time, the various base areas for the resistance against Japan were rural areas that were seriously

separated by the enemy, and the struggle against the enemy was unprecedentedly cruel. The while terrors were very serious in the areas occupied by the enemy and in the areas under KMT rule. Therefore, our work was extremely difficult and some comrades had a poor understanding of the all-round situation of the revolution and did not really know what the future held for the victory of the revolution. Therefore, it was urgently necessary to integrate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninsim with the practice of the Chinese revolution in order to systematically solve these problems, unify the thinking of all our party members, and consolidate our party and turn it into a party of national scale that had widespread influence among the masses of people and that was ideologically, politically, and organizationally more mature and stronger. By so doing, we would enable it to lead the people all over our country to overcome the darkness before the dawn. At that time, the war of resistance against Japan was at a stalemate and we exploited this opportunity to gather, in a planned manner, some leading backbone cadre in our party, governments, troops and mass bodies at various levels and had them carry out rectification and study. This was entirely feasible and correct.

Before the rectification movement was carried out in a widespread manner throughout our party, there was a period of making full preparations. During this period, Comrade Mao Zedong published his important works, including "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "On New Democracy," and "Preface and Postscript to Rural Surveys." At the same time other leading cadre of the CPC Central Committee also published many important articles. Since 1941, the CPC Central Committee had published in succession its decisions on the strengthening of party spirit, on investigation and study, on the transformation of the education in Yanan cadre school and on the education for full-time cadre in Yanan and high-grade study teams. In particular, Comrade Mao Zedong gave speech entitled "Reform Our Study" in May 1941 and thus laid the ideological foundation for the Rectification Movement.

The Yanan rectification movement heightened the Marxist-Leninist level of all the cadre in our party, eliminated Wang Ming's erroneous line, criticized empiricism as well as dogmatism, and eliminated factionalism in a natural way through "recognizing the existence of factions" and "doing work to deal with the problems related to factions." By so doing, it achieved the goal of clarifying thinking and uniting comrades and the whole party.

The Yanan rectification enabled our party to develop by leaps and bounds both ideologically and politically and organizationally and to become even more mature. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The period when we were in Yanan could be regarded as the period when Mao Zedong Thought took shape and became a relatively integrated system. The theory concerning the new democratic revolution, including the theory on the development of the party's organization and on the principles for handling inner-party relations became a relatively complete system at the time around the Yanan rectification." ("Selected Words of Deng Xiaoping," p 156). Through the rectification, thinking of the whole party was unified by Mao Zedong Thought and the CPC Central Committee approved the "Resolution on Certain Historical Issues." Through the Seventh National Congress, Comrade Mao Zedong's position as the leader of the whole party was established. All this laid the political, ideological and organizational foundation for the thorough victory of the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation.

The rectification movement in Yanan Central Party School was carried out under the direct leadership of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong. It was the focus, and can also be regarded as the epitome, of the rectification of the whole party. In the Central Party School were cadres of all historical periods of the party, cadres from various front armies, cadres from various base areas and from the underground party organizations in white areas, and all the deputies to the Seventh National Party Congress except those who worked in areas other than Yanan. Therefore, it gathered all the questions that people in our party urgently need to answer and become clear about. This caused the rectification movement in the Central Party School to have a particularly important position, and to play a great promotional role, in the rectification movement of the whole party and to have tremendous influence on the development of the work of the whole party.

The term in the Central Party School began on 1 February 1942. At the opening ceremony, Comrade Mao Zedong gave a speech entitled "Rectify the Party Style of Work," which defined the tasks, goals, methods, and guiding thought for the rectification movement and announced to the whole party the beginning of the movement.

In order to satisfactorily lead the rectification movement the Central Party School was reorganized. On 28 February 1942, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee passed the "New Resolution on the Organizational and Educational Principles of the Party School," suspended the previous syllabus of the party school, merged the senior course of the military academy with Central Party School, and sent the senior cadres of various organs and schools in Yanan (including those who joined the high-grade study classes), in batches of 300-400, to take part in the study in the party school. Comrade Mao Zedong was concurrently president of the party school and Comrade Peng Zhen was vice president in charge of directing the rectification and study of the party school. On 11 March 1942, the CPC Central Committee adopted the "Regulations on the Entry and Transference of the Students of the Central Party School, to ensure, organizationally, the normal progress of the rectification and study in the party school.

At the beginning, there was only one department in the party school. The students in this department were cadres at and above the prefectural party committee and brigade level and a small number of deputies to the Seventh National Party Congress who were below the prefectural party committee level. The director of the department was originally Huang Huoqing, who was later appointed as the secretary-general and succeeded by Gu Dacun, and Liu Zhiming was the deputy director of the department. Those who were originally students of the party school, who were not deputies to the Seventh National Party Congress and who were cadres at county and regiment level, were formed into the second department. Its director was Zhang Dincheng and its deputy directors were Sun Zhiyuan and An Ziwen. On 4 May 1943, the CPC central Committee decided to merge the Central Research Institute with the Central Party School and turn it into the third department of the school. Most of the students in the third department were intellectuals, among whom were many relatively well-known men of

letters and cultural work cadres. Its director was Guo Shushen, and the deputy directors were Zhang Ruxin and Nian Dakai. As veteran cadres had to study theory and systematically sum up their experience and lessons, corresponding academic knowledge was necessary; therefore, the students from the Military Academy which was merged with the school and the workers and peasants cadres, who were originally students of the school and who were of relatively low educational background, were formed into the fourth department, in which reading and writing were studied while the party rectification was carried out. The sector's directors were Zhang Qilong and Zhang Bangying and its deputy directors were Cheng Shicai and Yang Shangkui. At the beginning of 1944, in the light of a proposal by the Northwest Bureau, the CPC Central Committee decided to merge the Party School of the Northwest Bureau with the Central Party School and turn the former into the fifth and sixth departments of the latter. The students of the fifth department were mainly cadres of county and district levels in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area and some of them were cadres at battalion and regiment level who had taken part in the long march. Its director was Bai Dongcai and the vice directors were Qiang Xiaochu and Zhao Zmefu. The students of the sixth department were cadres of county and district levels and young intellectuals who had come from the enemy-occupied areas and the areas under KMT rule. Its director was Ma Guorui and the vice director was Gu Yunting. The number of students in the school totaled over 3,000 and the total number of people in the school including staff and workers was about 6,000.

Deliberately, the Central Party School recruited the cadres who had worked at leading posts at various levels in various fields and during various historical periods. In particular, it paid attention to recruiting cadres who were competent and who had prestige among, and good contacts with, the masses to take part in the work of leadership of various party branches. As most of them were comrades who were in charge of practical work in various fields, this facilitated collecting experiences and opinions from various sides. It also facilitated relaying the instructions from the upper level and reflecting the ideological trends of the masses. Otherwise, it would have been difficult to systematically sum up in an all-round manner, the rich experience and lessons gained in China's prolonged revolutionary struggle

III

The process of the rectification movement at the Yanan Central Party School was a process of applying the basic principles of Marxism-Leninsim to solving the problems related to China's revolution and a process of integrating theory with practice. It was also a process of gradually heightening cadre's understanding of theory and transforming cadres' thinking. Its aim was to unify the minds of everyone in our party. The tasks of Rectification Movement were: to fight against subjectivity in order to rectify our style of study, to fight against factionalism in order to rectify our style of party work, to fight against seterotyped party writing in order to rectify our writing style, and thus to establish the dialectical and historical materialist work style of seeking truth from facts throughout our party and finally eliminate the influence of the leftist and rightist lines headed by Wang Ming.

The first step of the party rectification was an intensive reading of the 22 documents assigned for reading by the CPC Central Committee and understanding their essential contents. On 3 April 1942, the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee made a decision calling on people to carefully read all the documents assigned by the CPC Central Committee for reading, to write notes in reading each of them, and then to arrange discussion one by one or batch by batch.

The leading group of the party school was very conscientious in arranging the study of the documents. Comrade Peng Zhen wrote an editorial for the JIEFANG RIBAO entitled "Understand the Essential Contents of the 22 Documents" to profoundly expound on how to study the documents. The comrades who took part in the study were very careful in reading the documents word by word and sentence by sentence. They repeatedly read and understood the documents in combination with the reality of their work and thought and with the history of the party and revolution. While reading, they applied their minds, carried out discussion, and conscientiously wrote notes. Personal reading and group discussion were closely linked and questions were often put forward. The school also organized get-togethers and meetings to discuss the questions. The get-togethers were held in a free form. There were no restrictions on the numbers of participants, and no fixed agendas or topics of discussion. They could be held at any time by three to five or over a dozen people by the riverside, under a tree, on a mountain slope, or anywhere. The participants could join and leave the get-togethers any time they pleased. The discussion meetings could be held by a group, a party branch, or by several branches together. When there was a matter of universal concern, a large discussion meeting was even held at the level of one department. Concerning major issues raised by the discussions, responsible comrades of the CPC Central Committee were invited to give lectures on them. Comrades Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Chen Yun, Ren Bishi, and Lin Boqu all went to the party school to give speeches. In order to urge people to conscientiously study the documents, it was stipulated that leaders would check the notes of the comrades at lower levels and help correct their notes and that people had to exchange notes for reading. JIEFANG RIBAO selected and published some good notes. Comrade Mao Zedong personally read some comrades' notes, corrected some incorrect wording, and wrote instructions on them. When the reading of documents was finished, an examination was carried out. This examination differed from ordinary examinations in that it did not examine whether people had learned the words in the documents by heart, but examined whether they understood and could apply the documents. The problems in the examination papers were personally revised by Comrade Mao Zedong. For example, there were the following questions in the examination paper: "What was the dogmatism in the style of study in our party? What serious instance of this style have you seen? Have you ever committed the mistake of dogmatism in your study and work? If so, in what ways? To what extent have you corrected it? How are you to correct or prevent it in the future?" The examination began on 24 June and lasted 10 days.

The second step was to undertake a review in the light of reality. First, one's thoughts, work, and history were reviewed in the light of the spirit of the documents. For a time, people focused on checking themselves in the light of the four [word indistinct] for cadres that were put forth by G. Dimitrov

(boundless loyalty, contacts with the masses, competence in doing the work [?independently], and observation of discipline). In one of his speeches, Comrade Chen Yun said that "the four standards for cadres are not only the standards by which our party organizations assess their cadres, but are also the standards that every cadre should strive to become qualified in." In reviewing the past, people consciously carried out self-criticism to confirm what was correct and criticize what was incorrect, analyze the reasons for errors, and put forth methods of correction. Every cadre wrote a summary about his thinking and revised it repeatedly through mutual criticism and help.

The third step was a regional and departmental review and a further study of the party's line in the light of the review. In the Autumn of 1943, the CPC Central Committee decided that beginning 10 October, the senior cadres of the party were to once more study the issues concerning the two lines in the history of the party. This study was carried out for about 1 year. The documents for the study were mainly the two documents entitled "Since the Sixth CPC Congress" and "Two Lines," which were edited and printed by the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee. All those taking part in the study conscientiously considered and probed the situation of Chinese society and analyzed and discussed various issues concerning the nature, tasks, goals, and motive force of and class relations in China's revolution, the policies toward intermediate classes and sections, and the question of whether we had to focus our work on urban or rural areas. Through adequate discussion they made a clear distinction between right and wrong, heightened their understanding, and unified our thinking concerning the successes and failures of our party's lines and policies in various historical periods.

In studying the documents concerning the period of the first revolutionary civil war, they focused on the question of how we were to evaluate the Sixth CPC National Congress. At that time their views differed widely and there was heated debate among them. Therefore, Comrade Zhou Enlai went to the party school to give a speech entitled "On the Discussion Concerning the Sixth CPC National Congress" to help people unify their understanding.

When they studied the documents concerning the second revolutionary civil war and the initial period of the war of resistance against Japan, they focused on gaining a clear understanding of Wang Ming's third leftist line and capitulationism regarding the united front for the war of resistance against Japan. The comrades cited many facts to expose Wang Ming's various errors and the serious harm that he had done by violating the party's organizational principles. They also criticized him systematically in theoretical terms. The experience and lessons gained in the previous few years of the war of resistance against Japan had fully proved that Wang Ming's view that "everything must be done through the united front and be subordinate to the united front" was a thoroughly erroneous, rightist opportunist line. On the other hand, the whole sets of principles put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong concerning persisting with independence in the united front, carrying out struggle against, as well as uniting with, the KMT in handling relations with it, adhering to the principle of making the struggle justified, profitable, and moderate, and widely uniting with democratic parties, patriots, and the enlightened gentry, were all principles of a correct Marxist-Leninist line.

As for the study concerning the party's line, both Comrade Mao Zedong, in his speech entitled "Our Study and the Current Situation," and Comrade Peng Zhen, in his speech at the party school, came to correct conclusions. Then began the study of the "Resolution on Certain Historical Issues" passed by the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee.

Before that study, the comrades who took part in the study in the party school did not understand the line struggle between lines in the party, though some of them had taken part in the first and second revolutionary civil wars. Through that systematic study, they gained a clear understanding of the issues related to lines, knew the harm that erroneous lines had done to the Chinese revolution, deepened their understanding of the correct line, unified their understanding of the rights and wrongs and successes and failures of the struggle between different lines in the history of our party, and came to more firmly believe that in carrying out the revolutionary struggle it was imperative to proceed from reality.

IV

The key problem that the rectification movement was to solve was: To criticize and correct the subjective style of thinking and establish and develop the work style of seeking truth from facts that integrates the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution. As for our methods of study, the movement was aimed at establishing the methods of focusing on studying the actual problems in the Chinese revolution under the guidance of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and abolishing the method of studying Marxism-Leninism in isolation from the reality of the Chinese revolution with the view that Marxism-Leninism had ceased to develop. This was a radical change in the transformation of thought and study methods in our party's history.

Seeking truth from facts is the ideological foundation of Marxism. The basic principle and cream of Mao Zedong Thought is precisely seeking truth from facts. Comrade Mao Zedong personally wrote the inscription "seeking truth from facts" which hangs on the wall of the auditorium of the Yanan Central Party School in order to make people always remember: What we rely on is precisely seeking truth from facts, a principle which can lead the Chinese revolution to victory and enable us to commit no or few mistakes in our work.

In the past, because many comrades had come under the influence of dogmatism to varying degrees for a long time, a major shortcoming in our study and work was: separation between the subjective and objective worlds, between theory and practice, and between study and application. This shortcoming was mainly shown in the fact that people had learned lots of abstract principles of Marxism-Leninism without paying attention to understanding their essence or to the question of how we were to apply them in the practice of the Chinese revolution. For many comrades, while learning by heart many passages of Marxism-Leninism, they continued to preserve their old ideology and unscientific attitude; therefore, their studies had no actual effect, what they said did not match what they did, and they failed to substantially improve their work.

The documents that the CPC Central Committee assigned the party school to study were documents of nationalized Marxism-Leninism that closely linked the Chinese revolution with the major classic works of Marxism-Leninism. These documents contained not only the cream of the experience of China's revolutionary struggle but also the basic experience of the international communist movement. In studying these documents, we did not merely learn the words in the documents by heart, but stressed that we had to apply the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint, and methods to observe and analyze things. The students all conscientiously read the documents and reviewed their thinking, work, and experience in the light of the spirit of the documents. At that time, they vividly described this method as follows: "One studies the documents and then uses the documents and then uses the documents to study oneself." "One should regard the principles in the documents as yardsticks by which to check oneself, make a true evaluation of oneself, and know what one really is." This study did not stop at a silent and isolated study of the contents of the documents, but focused on understanding the essence of the documents through summing up the experience of the Chinese revolution and criticizing Wang Ming's leftist and rightist errors. It also focused on applying the theory learned in the study to analyze new situations and issues in reality and summing up the experience and lessons that we had gained from our successes and failures in the course of transforming the objective world. From the large number of facts disclosed to them in the study, they profoundly realized what serious harm the dogmatists' subjective policy decisions had brought to our revolutionary cause because these dogmatists did not carry out investigation and study, made decisions on the basis of subjective guesses, and had lost contact with reality and the masses.

Through the study, they truly realized that practice was the only criterion by which to check truth, that investigation and study was of great importance, and that "without investigation and study, one should have no say." Investigation and study was a weapon with which to oppose subjectively, and a basic condition for really understanding and implementing the policies and transforming our work style. In order to seek truth from facts, we must systematically and carefully observe every aspect of things and should not look at only one aspect; we must see the essence underlying the phenomena rather than see only the surface phenomena; and we had to be objective rather than subjective. If we could not objectively observe things in an allround manner to find their essence then we would not be able to really understand the total situation of the development of things or to correctly understand and implement our policies.

They all realized that in order to genuinely eliminate subjectively, we had also to oppose careless methods of thinking and work. For this careless and unconscientious work style had also brought tremendous harm to our revolutionary work. During the study, we also firmly fought against the evil practice of trying to please the people by empty talk and boasting. They put on a Soviet play, "The Front," which criticizes the work style of a [words indistinct], exaggerates facts, and speaks lies. Many comrades said that they all their lives would never forget this education regarding seeking truth from facts.

V

The organization of and leadership over, the rectification in the Party School were characterized by wide-ranging democracy under centralized guidance and a

high degree of centralism on the basis of democracy and, in addition, by conscientious criticism and self-criticism under the guidance of democratic centralism. The rectification movement was a conscious movement of ideological transformation, of which the basic method was criticism and self-criticism. Our experience had proved that as long as the upper-level leading group failed to fully practice democracy or to give play to the initiative of the lower levels, it was impossible to really carry out criticism and self-criticism. If we could not truly carry out criticism and self-criticism, people would not dare to speak the truth at will or to face the facts and expose the shortcomings and mistakes in our work. Then it would be impossible to study theory purposefully or to help the comrades who had shortcomings and thus educate ourselves while helping other people. On the other hand, if there was only the initiative on the party of the lower levels, but no firm and correct leadership from above, our criticism and self-criticism might deviate from the correct direction. Therefore, neither centralized leadership nor democracy could be dispensed with. If we achieved this, we would remove people's apprehension and cause them to air their views freely. At the same time, we allowed people to give whatever opinions they had, to put forth and reserve their different views and to make new evaluations of old conclusions. By so doing, we really practiced the principle of "causing those who know to say what they know and those who speak to speak without reserve."

In the rectification movement in the Party School, democracy, criticism, and self-criticism were practiced in diverse forums: there were not only the writing of ideological biographies, historical biographies, self-examination notes, and reading notes, but also group, party branch, and small and large random discussion meetings, person-to-person discussion, and assemblies of the whole school. There were also notice board and study bulletins and study reports. The second department of the school once held an entirely democratic meeting lasting over 1 month. All the people there could apply to give speeches at the meeting to say what they wanted to say. Their speeches covered a wide range, including their own thoughts, work, and history, the work in various areas and departments, and their views on the historical issues of the party. Many responsible cadres, including some leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee, were criticized by name. This really caused people to say what had lain deep in their hearts and what they had kept there for many years. After people had said what they wanted to say, we had to rouse them and rely on their spirit in adhering to truth and correcting mistakes, make them cite facts and give arguments, and gently, kindly, and patiently carry out criticism and self-criticism with the aim of helping people overcome their shortcomings and distinguish between right and wrong in the manner of seeking truth from facts, and thus solved problems and overcame gaps that had grown for many years.

Concerning erroneous views, on the one hand we had to allow them to be publicized fully. On the other hand, we had to carry out proper criticism to help correct them. If making erroneous opinions public had not been allowed during the period of study, the study would have lacked vitality and could not have been vivid. However, if we had failed to carry out conscientious debate on some erroneous views, in particular, some erroneous views concerning principle, and if we had not vigorously refuted them and had adopted a laissez-faire attitude, people would have thought that we lacked a sense of responsibility. This was

not an attitude that a communist should adopt. For example, some cadres regarded themselves as people of merit and thus, being superior to other people, were proud and pitted themselves against the organizations. No one dared to criticise them. If we had not helped them correct their understanding, they would have brought harm to themselves as well as the party. As for the timing for carrying out criticism and self-criticism, it was not to be carried out too early, because it would not be easy for students to freely air their views, and then it would not be possible for those who persisted with their correct views to undergo stealing. Neither could it be too late, for this would make permanent the complicated differences of view in our party organizations, and thus give rise to confusion.

The centralized leadership of the party school was strong. First, the leading groups at all levels coordinated well with one another in implementing the school principle of "seeking truth from facts and advocating no empty talk," and constantly summed up their experience and lessons and carried out criticism and self-criticism, rather than acting in a subjective manner, regarding themselves as being always correct, ignoring their mistakes, and obstinately clinging to their own views. Second, and particularly important, was that the rectification in the party school was carried out under the direct leadership of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong; therefore, the school leading group, and even the leading groups of the party branches, could truly and faithfully inform the CPC Central Committee of the situation and the problems that had emerged and promptly get instructions from the Central Committee and correct thier mistakes. Most of the instructions from the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong were given after repeated discussion between the upper and lower levels and repeated consideration. The central leaders paid close attention to being promptly informed of and studying the progress of the rectification movement and thus playing their role in leading and enlightening the leading groups at various levels in the party school. This work style of setting an example by one's own deeds greatly benefited all the students and had far-reaching influence. Third, the leadership over the rectification in the party school was based on the work of the long-tested backbone leading cadres of the party branches. This was a decisive reason why at that time the party school was always able to adhere to truth and correct its mistakes in the process of the rectification and the study of the party's line and in examining cadres in the rectification period. Fourth, during the period of party rectification, their were no teachers in charge of classes or coaches, and the basic level was led by the party branches. Many leading cadres, including Luo Ruiqing, Bo Yibo, Chen Geng, Chen Xilian, Wang Congwu, Song Shilun, Chen Qihan, Nian Hongyan, Zhang Pinghua, Qian Ying, Zhao Lin, Pei Mengfei, He Jinnian, Xizang Zhonghua, Shutong, Yu Guanghan, Liu Yunguang, Yu Zhiyuan, and Guo Zihua, worked as secretaries or members of the party branches in the first department of the party school. The school leadership and the students studied together and learned from one another. They talked and discussed with one another, summed up their experience and lessons in the manner of seeking truth from facts, and carried out criticism and self-criticism. In addition, the school leadership was good at collecting opinions from the vast numbers of students and selecting all their correct views and had these views discussed collectively in order to improve them and thus guide the healthy development of the discussion in the party branches. Fifth, in the process of the party

rectification and the study concerning the two lines in the party, the good work style of seeking truth from facts, following the mass line, carrying out criticism and self-criticism, and practicing democratic centralism gradually took shape. So did the habit of unifying people's words and deeds on the basis of a high degree of democracy. At that time this was proved effective by practice. Everyone personally knew that and was deeply impressed. This was the key reason why mistakes could be promptly corrected and successes were achieved in the process of the study and the work of rectification.

VI

During the rectification movement, we resolutely implemented the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and "uniting the comrades as well as clarifying thinking," principles that were pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong. As a result, the principle of "starting from a desire for unity and achieving the goal of unity through criticism and self-criticism" was finally and genuinely implemented. This principle meant pursuing unity throughout the party on the basis of adhering to principles. It opposed both the "cruel struggle and ruthless attacks" carried out under the rule of dogmatists and the practice of vulgar liberals who confused right with wrong and stayed on good terms with everyone indiscriminately. The aim of this principle was to help people. But in order to help people, we had first to cure their diseases. This had two aspects of meaning: First, we wanted to cure people rather than have people suffer; and second, treatment had to be given if there was disease and one was not to conceal disease to avoid treatment. The method for implementing that principle was criticism and self-criticism, self-education, and comradely help, rather than dealing blows at comrades. The leading groups at all levels in the party, school, including those of the party branches, regarded rousing people to consciously solve their ideological problems as the key to the success of the rectification movement. They stressed that they had to rely on people's conscious actions in solving ideological problems and believed that most of the comrades could consciously solve their ideological problems. They also believed that forcing people to obey them could not solve ideological problems but would only hurt comrades and undermine unity. Therefore, the attitude of discussion and criticism had to be serious and sharp, but had also to be sincere and helpful and the attitude of sneering at and finding fault with people was wrong. As long as a comrade who had committed mistakes was willing to correct his mistakes and make progress, even if he had only made very little progress, we had to encourage and help him in order to urge him to make even greater progress. As people all adopted the attitude of helping people to improve, even though they argued with one another in a heated manner in meetings, they continued to be close to each other like brothers after the meetings.

The Party School conscientiously grasped the principle of being stern in criticizing people but being lenient in punishing them. Being stern in carrying out criticism was aimed at safeguarding the party's principles. As it was an education for oneself as well as for other people, there had to be no exception. Meting out administrative punishment, [word indistinct] different. We had to make distinctions between different cases and people and be lenient in doing it. In dealing with people who had committed mistakes, we could not abandon our

principles, avoid contradictions, or maintain "peaceful coexistence" or unity in form. Nor could we exaggerate their mistakes without limit and thus declare that they were hopeless.

The party school's leading group constantly held various meetings and heart-to-heart talks with people in order to become well-informed of the situation and the mental state, work, and background of the cadres and in order to carry out analysis in the manner of seeking truth from facts. In analyzing problems, it paid attention to grasping criteria, making a distinction between right and wrong, and making a distinction between contradictions between the enemy and the people and those among the people, between line mistakes and ordinary mistakes, between mistakes of principle and mistakes not related to principle, between ideological mistakes of understanding and mistakes in violating organizational discipline, between habitual and causal mistakes, and between overall and partial mistakes. It also analyzed the subjective and objective reasons that gave rise to the mistakes in order to clearly distinguish between right and wrong, in order to draw on lessons from the mistakes, and in order to avoid future mistakes, rather than in order to merely affix responsibility for the mistakes. Therefore, it made the best possible objective, all-round, and historical observation and analysis of every cadre. This practice not only enabled the party to more clearly understand its cadres in an all-round manner, but also helped the comrades to consciously transform their thinking and strengthened the party's unity.

The study at the party school was very busy and the production, livelihood, and cultural activities of the school were well-organized. The Administrative Department of the party school was led by Mou Zexian, Lu Qien, Fu Zhensheng, Wu Nengguang, and other comrades. They personally worked to feed pigs, grow vegetables, sew, produce charcoal, and set up factories in order to overcome the difficulties and ensure satisfaction of the demands of the students' livelihood, and thus ensured the smooth progress of the party rectification.

We, the four writers of this article, were then workers and students at the party school. Like all other students, we gained much in that rectification movement and learned a fine work style. Therefore, after the Seventh CPC National Congress had been held and the rectification finished, we could return to our work posts in high spirits and with full confidence to meet the new situation after the victory of the War of Resistance against Japan and to fight for the victory of the liberation war.

The 3 years of the Yanan rectification was an experience that we will remember well all our lives. The fine work style that took shape in the Yenan period is our party's glorious and valuable tradition. We must always carry on this glorious work style and pass it down generation after generation in order to ensure that we will achieve one victory after another in carrying out our modernization program.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

TA KUNG PAO ON 'PAMPERED' MAINLAND ONLY CHILDREN

HK030310 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 31 May 86 p 2

["Special Feature" by Correspondent Kung SHUANG-YIN [7255 7175 0603]: "The Mainland's 'Little Emperors': Single Children"]

[Text] Outstanding Students Incapable of Taking Care of Themselves

On the eve of the 1 June International Children's Day, the mainland press came out with a strange story: At a time when postgraduates are fiercely vying with each other for a chance to study abroad, an 18-year-old postgraduate studying for his master of arts suddenly fell ill with "a phobia about going abroad."

It turned out that this postgraduate had been the favorite of his family since childhood, so pampered that he need only stretch out his arm for the clothes he wanted to put on and open his mouth to be fed. When he was in college, his mother came over every 3 days to do laundry and general chores for him. The result was that at the age of 18, he could not even take care of himself. After he was chosen as a student to study abroad, he went to Beijing for a foreign language course and was forced to leave home. His life while studying there was a big strain. At night he tossed and turned in bed, his mind full of thoughts. How should he live his life if sent to France? He suffered from insomnia. He at last fell ill. He was seized with cramps all over in a sudden attack and had to stop studying. The doctor said: "The cause of the illness is a poor ability to face life. The prospect of going abroad has been a burden weighing on his mind." This is what people called "top marks matched with poor ability." This phenomenon is relatively common among single children.

According to statistics, China now has 35 million single children. They are mostly concentrated in cities and towns. An only child in a family enjoys special privileges and status. He is what people call a "little emperor" in China. Such children are generally clever and have a wide range of knowledge. But their defects are remarkable, such as an aura of being a sissy or snooty, willfulness, a poor capacity for independence, a tendency toward great dependence, and so forth. With their good material life, they have no love of labor and think nothing of the results of other people's labor.

These obvious merits and demerits are not inborn but acquired. An only child is the "center" of a family and the whole family's "target of protection." No

matter what the parents' trade and what their amount of income, they begrudge an only child nothing. An investigation shows that 75 percent of families with a monthly income of over 200 yuan spend 60 yuan on a child. A couple in Beijing with a monthly income of 150 yuan between them spent as much as 80 yuan on their child. Some people spend a fortune on a piano to please their children but think twice about buying a shirt for themselves.

So single children are well off. Some schools in Beijing have photography clubs. Each of the 48 students involved has his own camera. They have been bit spenders since childhood and set little value on things. There is often no one who claims articles from the lost property office at school. Children say: "It is just something old. I can buy a new one!" On spring tours, children try to outdo each other with their spending money. They spend on everything they take a fancy to. Where there is a fine for plucking flowers, children willfully do it, saying: "I have money!" But when the day came for collecting donation for starving children in Africa, the greatest amount a child gave was 10 cents. On the duty day when labor is to be done, parents are quick to come to school to do voluntary labor on their child's behalf. They say: "It does not matter whether a person knows how to do labor. What counts is good scholastic performance." Every morning more and more people send their children to school. There are also top-ranking cadres' guards, secretaries, and housekeepers sending children over.

Overnourished and Ill-educated

On seeing the shortcomings in single children, some people consider that such virtues of the Chinese nation as loving labor and being industrious and thrifty are facing a big challenge. They worry about how these "overnourished and ill-educated" single children will fare in life after they start working. They call this generation a "troublesome generation."

Therefore, single children's education has aroused widespread social concern. People think that this is also a problem of teaching theory. In mid-May, the State Educational Commission, the All-China Women's Federation, the CYL Central Committee, and GUANGMING RIBAO jointly held a forum on education on single children.

The conferees considered that certain merits and demerits to exist among single children. These merits and demerits are not something inborn but are products of family and social circumstances. They pointed out that especially great responsibility falls on parents for the growth of single children. The problem of so-called education for single children is actually one of education for parents. Many drawbacks in children reflect something wrong with family education. At present in parents' education of single children, there exist such tendencies as pampering and indulging them, having too high expectations, and so forth. Many parents are concerned only over children's intellectual development and relax set standards for their moral conduct.

Parents Attend Class to Learn How to Educate Children

To make parents learn something about pedagogy and the children's psychology so that they can educate children according to scientific laws, schools of a new kind--schools for parents--have emerged in China. At present there are more than 100 such schools throughout the country. This has played a very useful role in raising parents' educational standard and stimulating the combination of family education with school education.

JIANGSU'S GOVERNOR GU XIULIAN ON REFORMS

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 25, 23 Jun 86 pp 21-22

[Interview by reporters Li Nan [2621 2809] and Zhou Zhaoxian [0719 2507 0341]: "Why the Fast Pace of Reforms in Jiangsu?--A Talk with Jiangsu Provincial Governor Gu Xiulian"]

[Text] Jiangsu is a coastal region that developed rather early and historically has been materially abundant and economically developed. In recent years, rural and urban reforms have developed at an accelerated pace and attracted everyone's attention.

How do reforms promote the economy and what are the characteristics of reforms in Jiangsu? Those that have been made are not yet finished, so what is to come? To understand this question, it perhaps would be best to take a look at the overall situation in Jiangsu's development. Not only this, but perhaps it also would be of use to explore the prospects on the horizon for the vast East China region. We paid a visit to consult with Governor Gu Xiulian [7357 4423 5571] concerning these questions in a building not far from Gushitou town in Nanjing City.

I. A Doubling in Five Years

A prosperous momentum has been maintained in Jiangsu's economy since its take-off. Governor Gu said that Jiangsu began to implement province-wide reforms in 1980. In 5 years, the gross value of industrial and agricultural output in Jiangsu increased from 62.3 billion yuan to 126.9 billion yuan, while national income rose from 27.3 billion yuan to 58 billion yuan.

Governor Gu Xiulian did not compare levels in Jiangsu with other regions, but we understand that Jiangsu holds first place in China in gross value of industrial and agricultural output, gross value of industrial output and gross value of township and town enterprise output. Its agricultural production is famous throughout China and its development has been stable throughout. Per capita grain output exceeds 1,000 jin and it is one of the few provinces in China with a per capita figure of 1,000 jin.

Why has Jiangsu developed so quickly? What is the source of the 15 percent annual rate of growth?

II. The Most Basic Thing Is a Vigorous Commodity Economy

When answering this question, Governor Gu said: "It is due entirely to reforms." She pointed out that the first thing was the correctness of the CPC Central Committee principles and policies in implementing reforms. Second, Jiangsu had a rather solid foundation in the past. Third, everyone in Jiangsu is working hard to focus on economic work and dynamic ideas.

She said, "I feel that the most basic thing is the relative liveliness of the commodity economy. If there is a difference between now and the past, it is the degree to which the commodity economy has developed."

She pointed out that the development of the commodity economy concerns many realms and has led to reforms in many areas:

1. Decision-making rights over production and management in industrial enterprises have been expanded. They have closer linkages with markets and they are participating in market regulation. In the area of management, there has been a reduction in directive planning and a reinforcement of guidance-type planning.
2. Jiangsu does not manage enterprises at the provincial level but has turned over the enterprises to cities and counties, which has strengthened responsibility and vitality in city and county enterprises.
3. Jiangsu has implemented multi-layer responsibility for financial income down to the cities and towns. A larger proportion of over-quota income is being given to cities and counties, which has promoted the initiative of local areas.
4. Jiangsu has developed multi-channel, multi-layer and multi-form regional cooperation. There is a saying in Jiangsu that "Jiangsu's economy has two outside heads." The "two heads" refer to markets and raw materials, which depend on areas outside the province. Jiangsu has established cooperative relationships with 22 provinces and municipalities, including, for example, a cooperative agreement with Shanxi in which Shanxi supplies Jiangsu with coal and Jiangsu supplies Shanxi with industrial products.
5. Various types of enterprise colonies and groups have sprung up like spring bamboo throughout Jiangsu, with main factories carrying along many cooperative factories and cities serving as foundations that carry along townships and towns.
6. Jiangsu has integrated intellectual development with economic development and advocated education through many channels. Some townships now are spending 500,000 to 600,000 yuan each year on education.

Macro-economic management and control were reinforced in 1985, but all areas of Jiangsu are adopting several methods for continued invigoration of the micro-economy.

Governor Gu told us that there are many trial points throughout all areas of Jiangsu now. Examples include exploration of comprehensive reforms at the city level in Nanjing and Changzhou; exploration of comprehensive reforms at the country level in Tongshan, Haian and Changshu [Counties]; Wuxi, which continues to implement trials of social unified labor insurance to reduce the burden on some factories; and Changshu Prefecture, which is experimenting with transferring more rights down to the township level and focusing on good work at lower levels first. Some regions are exploring ways to adapt government administration systems to economic development, ways to simplify government administration organs and so on.

Governor Gu Xiulian provided an outline by saying that the development of reforms has promoted development of the commodity economy, and that development of the commodity economy has placed demands on reforms. She said that this was the reason for the rather rapid development.

III. Special Qualities in the Development of Reforms in Jiangsu

Jiangsu began implementing system reforms and developing the economy at the same time as the rest of China. Unified state arrangements were made for many important activities like production responsibility systems, wage reforms and price deregulation. Gu Xiulian said that "this is the general character. Jiangsu is roughly the same as other provinces in this area. Nevertheless, Jiangsu has many of its own special qualities."

Jiangsu's special qualities are more medium and small enterprises, more collective enterprises and more township and town enterprises. This has given a great deal of vitality to Jiangsu, which is different from large and medium-sized state enterprises that are restricted by housekeeper-type management systems.

The rural commodity economy is rather developed in Jiangsu, especially in the southern part of the province.

These conditions determine the many special qualities of economy systems in Jiangsu.

First, township and town industries are more closely integrated with agriculture. Jiangsu uses industry to assist and build up agriculture. Capital assistance from township and town enterprises profits to agriculture and rural construction over the past 5 years totalled 2.4 billion yuan, greatly exceeding state investments in agriculture over the same period.

Township and town enterprises have absorbed more than 5 million rural laborers who are supporting a total of more than 10 million people, one-sixth of Jiangsu's total population. Township and town enterprises paid out more than 4 billion yuan in wages in 1985, which is equivalent to an increase of 80 yuan in income for each peasant in Jiangsu.

Township and town enterprises have stabilized agriculture and balanced the incomes of those working in industry and those working in agriculture, and the stable agricultural foundation also has promoted comprehensive development of many industries.

Second, rural and urban areas are rather closely integrated. In 1982, Jiangsu put forth the idea and demand that urban areas serve as the center and rural areas as the foundation, with townships and towns as the pivotal point. In the second year, a system of using urban areas to bring along rural areas was implemented and the counties of Jiangsu were divided among 11 prefectural jurisdictions. Governor Gu pointed out that despite differing conditions in each of the prefectures, the orientation was correct and the results gradually have become apparent. Modernization of rural areas cannot be detached from the cities.

The third special quality is rather close regional integration within Jiangsu and integration with other provinces. Jiangsu has been divided into four economic regions, one containing Suzhou, Wuxi and Changzhou, the second containing Nanjing, Zhenjiang and Changzhou and two more in northern Jiangsu. People usually refer to these regions as Jiangsu's Golden Triangle, Copper Triangle and Iron Triangle. Gu Xiulian said laughingly, "gold we have, silver we have, but old, silver, copper and iron all are worth money."

She also pointed out another characteristic for us: each of these regions has a harbor, Zhangjiagang, Nanjinggang, Nantonggang and Lianyungang, that gradually will develop into harbor city colonies. She said that all of the developed capitalist nations depend on harbors to bring prosperity to the surrounding areas. The United States and many nations of Europe are like this.

Linkages between Jiangsu and other provinces also occur in multiple layers: a friendly support of frontier regions type like those between Jiangsu and Xinjiang and Guangxi; a material needs type, like that between Jiangsu and Shanxi; a neighboring province integration type, like those between Jiangsu and Shanghai and Anhui; and an urban cooperation type, like those between Changzhou and Nanchang City in Jiangxi, Pingdingshan City in Henan, Jingzhou in Liaoning and Fuzhou City in Fujian.

Governor Gu Xiulian discussed further the actual methods used in these linkages. First, contracts between enterprises are discussed and signed, after which the governments coordinate approval. In addition, the governments also supervise and guarantee the contracts. She said that "what we have implemented is a planned commodity economy. This separates professional governmental and enterprise positions."

IV. Problems and Ways to Solve Them

The topic shifted to the period when old systems are replaced by new ones. Reforms and development inevitably will lead to difficulties and problems. Gu Xiulian said straight-out that "there have been many difficulties and problems." She said that the focus of contradiction still is the relationship between strips and blocks, which refers to the relationship between upper and lower regions and the relationship between the vertical and the horizontal. She felt that integration of strips and blocks should make the blocks primary. Intersections of the vertical and the horizontal should make the horizontal primary.

Another rather large problem concerns ways of continuing to strengthen enterprise vitality. Enterprises now are faced with rising prices for raw materials and higher wages, so the pressure they must bear is increasing. Rising costs and falling results in enterprises in 1986 will weaken the ability of enterprises to carry out self-transformation and development.

How can these problems be solved? Governor Gu feels that there are three methods. First, we should continue to expand the decision-making rights of enterprises, continue to simplify administration and relax authority and start from the foundation. In addition, the price of raw materials must be controlled and enterprises should increase output and conserve, lower costs and strengthen technical transformation to increase their vitality. Second, continue to extend horizontal economic linkages, develop enterprise colonies and groups and attack vertical restrictions.

The success of horizontal linkages within and outside of Jiangsu is obvious. Single advantages have become comprehensive advantages. There is growing cooperation with fraternal provinces and regions that is continually expanding and taking a greater number of forms.

Horizontal linkages are beneficial for economic reforms, but Governor Gu Xiulian feels that the main tasks and foci of reforms at present continue to be reforms in prices, taxation and financial administration. If these areas cannot keep pace, horizontal linkages will be affected.

When she reached this point, she stated a principle: we cannot be still if we wish to move, movement is essential for vitality and a lack of movement will reduce vitality. As we understand her, she means that economic activities cannot stop and that reforms should become more intensive with each step.

V. Continue to Intensify Reforms

When discussing immediate restrictions, Governor Gu Xiulian outlined the next major step in reforms. She said that the reforms should become more intensive. Many economic problems must be studied and reforms should be intensified according to the laws of commodity circulation and economic laws.

In rural areas, this means continuing to sustain the advantages of production responsibility systems and taking a new step upward. In southern Jiangsu, we should develop agricultural mechanization to an appropriate degree and establish agricultural service systems. In areas like the Yangzhou region, we should achieve coordinated development of industry and agriculture to strengthen the foundation and increase strengths. In northern Jiangsu, we should make full use of its role as a grain base area and prepare to develop industry. All three types of regions should expand farmland water conservancy construction and reinforce the technical foundation of agriculture.

In industry, Jiangsu should continue to develop textiles, light industry, construction and other traditional advantages, and it should strengthen construction in emerging sectors like the petrochemical industry, the electronics industry and so on. Jiangsu also should set up a large backbone enterprise.

Governor Gu Xiulian felt that we must continue to develop and perfect the commodity economy and make intensive reforms in urban economic systems around this core. Government organs should consider ways to serve economic reforms and ways to improve work efficiency.

Development of the national economy musts be coordinated with social development, including education, public health, municipal government construction, the people's daily lives, construction of spiritual civilization and other areas.

Governor Gu said that leading a planned commodity economy requires extremely wise methods. She used the metaphor of directive planning, guidance planning and market regulation as being like three fine horses. They must be matched up to pull the cart of economic development as it rolls forward.

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HENAN CONTINUES TO CHECK ECONOMIC CRIMES

HK180627 Zhengzhou HENAN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 86 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Carry Out the Struggle Against Economic Crimes in Depth"]

[Text] In the first half of this year, our province scored marked achievements in cracking down on serious economic crimes, effectively protecting and promoting the smooth progress of our reform of the economic structure and socialist construction.

However, judging from the situation in various localities in Henan, the development of our struggle against economic crimes is still uneven. In some areas, people do not have a sufficient understanding of the destructiveness and corrosiveness of serious economic crimes in the new historical period, and the necessity and protracted nature of the struggle against economic crimes. Thus, further development of this struggle has been hindered. We must understand that if we do not deal heavy blows at serious economic crimes, our party style and social mood cannot really be improved, and the smooth progress of reform of the entire economic structure will be affected. We must "grap both construction and the legal system with both hands" and continue to carry out the struggle against economic crimes in depth.

The CPC committees at all levels must take effective measures to strengthen leadership over this struggle and, in light of the specific situation in various areas, work out concrete plans for the "general warfare." The struggle must be carried out under the leadership of the CPC committees and with the coordination of various local units, each having its own tasks and responsibilities, so that successes may be achieved. It is necessary to clear away the muddled idea which sets the struggle against economic crimes against the reform, thinking that the reform cannot be continued if rectifying party style and cracking down on economic crimes are emphasized. We must realize that both the struggle against economic crimes and the reform are supplementing and promoting each other, and must resolutely support the judicial organs in handling cases according to law. This is particularly true in handling those major cases which are difficult to handle due to their network of relations and strong backing. The CPC committees at all levels must, on their own initiative, help the cadres responsible for handling the cases clear away obstacles and solve difficulties, so that the cases can be handled

smoothly. The judicial organs and other relevant departments must conscientiously implement the policy of being resolute and prudent in cracking down on economic crimes. They must support each other and take the initiative in this struggle so as to strike accurate and relentless blows at criminal activities in the economic field. While vigorously supporting the judicial organs in handling cases, all units and departments must also take effective measures to check and prevent economic crimes in their own units and departments and must establish and perfect reasonable rules and regulations so that the criminals will not have any opportunities. At the same time, in the struggle against economic crimes, CPC committees at all levels must also pay attention to strengthening education in party style, party discipline, and the legal system, so as to prevent a small number of party members and cadres from committing crimes and associating with economic criminals due to unhealthy trends within the party.

We firmly believe that under the leadership of the CPC committees at all levels, and with the efforts of the judicial organs and the people throughout the province, we will surely attain our goal in cracking down on economic crimes, and the arrogance of the criminals will certainly be crushed.

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CSO: 4005/893

GUIZHOU HOLDS POLITICAL-LEGAL WORK CONFERENCE

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 11 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] The Guizhou provincial political-legal work conference proposed the general goal on political-legal work for 1986: On the basis of a marked improvement of public security, achieve a steady improvement and lay a firm foundation for basic improvement. Political-legal organs at all levels must properly perform all tasks centered around this goal.

The conference was held in Guiyang 2 - 8 April. Participants included political-legal work officials of the various prefectural, autonomous prefectural and city party committees, officials of provincial and local political-legal committees, officials of their public security, procuratorial, legal and departmental units, and officials of provincial organs, totaling more than 700 people. Secretary Hu Kehui [5170 0344 1920] of the provincial standing and political-legal committees and other officials of the provincial political-legal work conference, studied central leaders' speeches on political-legal work, deliberated and made arrangements on achieving the general goal of 1986, and formulated plans to curb major offenses and serious economic crimes.

The conference pointed out: Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech on the necessity to "grasp construction in one hand and the legal system in the other" in promoting the four modernizations, and Peng Zhen's and other central leaders' expositions on strengthening democracy and the legal system at the national conference are important developments of the theory on the people's democratic dictatorship under the new historical conditions as well as advanced generalizations and scientific summations of the historical experiences of socialism, and serve as the principles and compasses for political-legal work as well as powerful ideological weapons for the party to strengthen spiritual civilization. Thus, political-legal organs at all levels must adhere to the guiding ideology of "grasping in two hands," guide the vast numbers of cadres and police to establish a complete concept on the people's democratic dictatorship, enhance their senses of responsibility and mission, and properly perform the sacred functions of "cracking down on enemies, punishing crimes, protecting the people and serving the four modernizations."

Seeking truth from facts, participants at the meeting assessed and analyzed Guizhou's public security conditions, and came to the following conclusion: In the 2 plus years since August 1983, after severely cracking down on

serious criminal activities, Guizhou's public security has made a marked improvement, crimes of all kinds have decreased to a fairly significant extent, public order in society is good, the environment for education, science and technology, work, production and living is stable, basically changing the abnormality of living in fear, and the people's sense of security has grown stronger. However, public security in the province has not completely normalized, and some problems remain fairly salient. Thus, the conference proposed that this year the struggle against serious criminal activities be continued. In terms of the targets of the struggle, besides murder, arson, rape and setting off explosives, the province must ruthlessly crack down on thieves, give serious attention to hoodlum gangs and leaders of underground organizations of all kinds, and take strong measures against roaming criminals. It must firmly wipe out the evil phenomena in society. In rural and forest areas, it must crack down and prosecute according to law criminals wantonly felling and stealing trees and those illegally buying and selling land.

The conference demanded that political-legal organs at all levels continue, with determination and energy, the struggle against serious economic crimes. To curb economic crimes, they must first solve the issue of ideological understanding and, on the basis of unifying understanding, implement the measure of "unified leadership, command, planning and organization of forces under the party committee and concerted action of all departments. Public security, procuratorial and legal departments at all levels must make the struggle against economic crimes one of their important assignments, and take the initiative to strengthen links with the party's discipline inspection, finance, tax, industrial and commercial, customs, and auditing departments and struggle in coordination. In terms of those with criminal responsibilities, they must not replace criminal punishment with party, government and military disciplines, nor handle dereliction of duty as bureaucratism.

The conference felt that overall administration is society's systems engineering and the key to the basic improvement of public security. Therefore, it must be placed under the unified command of party committees and governments at all levels, with the various units performing their own proper functions, forming a situation of concerted effort by the whole society. In overall administration, the successful experiences of many areas and units should be publicized and followed: serious attention of party committees and governments, inclusion of overall administration in the daily agenda, and full-time leaders in charge; fixed organization, specific measures, and fixed personnel for every level and every area; as with economic and production quotas, assigning the various tasks of overall administration to such basic level units as plants, villages, cities, neighborhoods, schools, organs and stores, considering them important tasks and, as with other quotas, making them one of the criteria of inspection, checking and acceptance. Political-legal organs at all levels must fully develop their roles and properly discharge their own responsibilities, such as reinforcing basic level groundwork, setting up and strengthening basic level courts, police substations, public security committees and mediation committees, assigning judicial assistants in townships and towns, strengthening their training, fully developing their roles in overall

administration, and reducing and preventing crimes; giving serious attention to and strengthening the work of helping and educating young people committing minor offenses and vigorously rescuing those taking false steps; in terms of units with large numbers of cases, actively launching judicial suggestions and helping them strengthen public security measures and block loopholes; actively launching propaganda in diverse forms of the legal system in rural villages, organs and schools.

For political-legal organs to adjust to the requirements of the new situation and complete all assignments, the conference proposed specific requirements and measures on improving the political and professional qualities of their personnel.

During the conference, Hu Jintao [5170 6930 3447], Ding Tingmo [0002 1694 2875], Liu Hanzhen [0491 3352 2823], Bai Lin [4101 2651] and Zhang Shukui [1728 2885 7608], leaders of the provincial party committee, discipline inspection commission, people's congress standing committee and government, attended and made statements. Vice chairman Meng Sufen [5536 4790 5358] of the provincial CPPCC also attended the meeting.

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GUIZHOU PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SESSION HOLDS PLENUM

HK051444 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 4 May 86

[Excerpts] The Fourth Session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress held its third plenum this morning, at which it listened to the work reports of the provincial people's congress standing committee, the provincial people's higher court, and the provincial people's procuratorate.

Bai Lin, executive chairman of the plenum, announced the opening of the plenum. On behalf of the provincial people's congress standing committee, Xiz Yewen, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, delivered the work report of the provincial people's congress standing committee. The work report pointed out: This year is the 1st year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. We must grasp simultaneously both constructions and the legal system, and strive to build the two civilizations. We must further develop socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system so as to accomplish the Seventh 5-Year Plan and this year's plans for national economic and social development.

(Ji Jingtain), president of the provincial people's higher court, delivered a work report to the provincial people's higher court. He said: Over the past year, the province's people's courts at various levels emphatically grasped the work in five areas: They continued to seriously address criminal activities that seriously undermine social order, and strived to maintain and promote social order. They further strengthened the struggle against serious economic crime and ensured smooth progress in the socialist economic structural reform and construction. They further did well in handling criminal and civil cases, and strived to protect the people's legitimate rights. They gave play to the roles of readjusting economic relations and economic activities, strictly enforced the law, and safeguarded the authority of the socialist legal system. They strengthened the revolutionary, specialization, and modernization building of the people's courts.

Li Ling, chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate, delivered a work report of the provincial people's procuratorate.

The work report said: In 1985, the province's procuratorial organs at various levels continued to carry out the principle of seriously and quickly punishing criminals according to the law, in the struggle of promoting a fundamental turn for the better in the general mood of society. They resolutely hit at some criminals who seriously undermined social order. They scored great successes in this area. But there are still shortcomings and weak points in the work. Chiefly speaking, the work of combating economic crime was not evenly developed.

He said: This year is the one in which we continue to hit at crime and achieve a turn for the better in social order, as well as the critical one in which we lay the solid foundation for promoting a fundamental turn for the better in social order.

He urged all procuratorial organs at all levels to further seek common understanding and to promote the development of procuratorial work in four areas: First, they should focus on combating economic crime. Second, they should be determined to check within a year's time economic crimes, which are swollen with arrogance. Third, depending on the leadership of party committees, they should wage a general struggle against crime. Fourth, they should integrate the battle against economic crime with that of correcting party style and developing the legal system.

Other executive chairmen of the plenum were Li Tinggui, Song Shugong, (Hou Guoxiang), (Wang Jiao), (Liu Sihuai), (Lu Keqian), (Li Zhaoxing) and (Hu Tingdong). Members of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee who attended the Fourth Session of the Fifth Provincial CPPCC were also present.

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RECTIFICATION OF PARTY WORK STYLE DISCUSSED

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 19 May 86 p 1

[Article by Ding Tingmo [0002 1694 2875]: "Accurately Assess the Current Condition of the Party Work Style"]

[Text] We must objectively and accurately assess the current condition of our party's work style and carefully analyze and evaluate the problems. While looking squarely at the problems and unhealthy tendencies and focusing on party style rectification as a life-and-death issue, we must seek truth from facts, scientifically analyze and judge its current condition and guard against negating reform, the socialist system and the party's leadership.

On the one hand, we must face up to the unhealthy tendencies in our party and the negative, even corrupt, factors. In terms of Guizhou's party and government organs, besides the presence of different degrees of the six unhealthy tendencies listed in the party Central Committee's documents, there are some additional serious problems.

Some people subscribe to individualism, pursue fame, profit and position, haggle over personal gains and losses, and utilize power for private benefit. There are the following instances: wrangling over automobiles and houses, scheming for private benefit of all kinds of one's children and relatives, going abroad in violation of regulations, engaging in commerce for profit, illegally usurping and buying land for private construction, stressing personal relations rather than party spirit, dwelling on "connections" rather than principles, bending the law for relatives and friends, violating the law while enforcing it, promoting departmentalism, damaging the interests of the party and the people for the narrow benefit of one's own department, unit and clique, blackmailing the people by means of one's trade or occupation, following liberalism in politics, refusing to study the party's principles and policies, deciding on the right and wrong from the personal angle rather than the interests of the party and the people, spreading discontent with the party's line, principles and policies.

The main reason for such problems in the party is that some people joined the party ranks with unsound purposes and motives. The moment the climate and soil are right, their individualist ideology inflates. To date, the "Great Cultural Revolution's" negative influence on the party's ideology

and work style has not been completely eliminated. Under the historical conditions of opening to the outside and enlivening the economy at home, the corrosion of corrupt capitalist and feudalist ideologies has somewhat increased. Meanwhile, as reform involves a course of exploration, experiences in many tasks are lacking, and rules and regulations are not yet perfected for the time being, leaving loopholes. Subjectively speaking, we have failed to give adequate attention to spiritual civilization or devote adequate effort to education in party spirit, style and discipline. We are afraid to tackle the unhealthy tendencies of leading organs and cadres, or, we tighten and loosen by turns.

On the other hand, in terms of the issue of party style, we must guard against the incorrect ideology of "negating all." There have been profound lessons in problems of this type. Bringing up this issue does not mean that we have been excessive in rectifying party style. What is meant is that, while firmly rectifying the unhealthy tendencies in the party, we must maintain a sober mind and make appropriate, scientific and accurate judgments and analyses of objective conditions, instead of considering everything unhealthy and condemning everything in the party.

We must clearly realize that the party's reform and liberalization policies have promoted spiritual as well as material civilization. Reform and liberalization have given new life and vitality to the social science front. In the course thereof, we have begun to find the path for building socialism with Chinese characteristics. In other words, in practice and theory, we have enriched and developed Marxism while upholding its basic principles. Reform and liberalization are a powerful impetus to the socialist cultural cause. They have guided the line of vision of our cadres, intellectuals and workers to modernization, to the world and to the future, and aroused their spirit against backwardness and for reform, innovation and progress. People are in the course of pondering and responding to new challenges. Science and technology are advancing, operation and management levels are rising, and education is undergoing reform. Reform and liberalization have mobilized the enthusiasm and creativity of 800 million peasants. Under the condition of developing commodity economy with planning, some feudal, backward and conservative ideas are encountering unprecedented bombardments. Science and technology and new information of all kinds are entering rural villages, and a new generation of peasants is maturing. In areas where economic development is comparatively fast, rural education is growing rapidly. In short, reform and liberalization have produced positive and profound changes in people's spiritual lives and promoted spiritual civilization. Naturally, under the historical conditions of reform and liberalization, the corrupt ideological influence of capitalism and feudalism has somewhat increased, producing certain negative phenomena. However, it is incorrect to see only the negative phenomena and fail to recognize the positive changes in the main aspect.

What should also be explained is that the purpose of rectifying party style and curbing economic crimes is to ensure the smooth progress of the economic reform and create a favorable social environment for it. It is not for the purpose of returning the economy of the old path. Therefore,

when handling unhealthy tendencies and economic crimes, we must differentiate problems inevitable in the course of reform, those caused by the imperfection of our regulations and systems, those due to the lack of experience, mistakes in the course of exploration, and crimes in violation of law, and guard against lumping them together and consider them all economic crimes.

Seeking truth from facts in terms of the party style issue is absolutely not in defense of unhealthy tendencies or economic crimes. It means that we must make a sober and accurate assessment of the situation as a whole, because incorrect assessment and one-sidedness in ideology will lead to deviations in policy implementation, to the detriment to the smooth progress of party style rectification.

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DING TINGMO ADDRESSES GUIYANG CYL WORK MEETING

HK230451 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 19 Jul 86

[Excerpts] On 17 and 19 July in Guiyang the provincial CYL committee held a meeting of prefectural and city CYL leaders, university CYL leaders, and CYL secretaries in departments, bureaus, factories, and mines directly under the provincial authorities. The meeting conveyed and studied the spirit of the provincial conference of prefectural commissioners and discussed CYL tasks for the second half of this year by focusing on the spirit of the provincial conference.

On the evening of 18 July, Ding Tingmo, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, attended the meeting and listened to the work report of CYL cadres. He also made a speech on doing well in the CYL tasks.

He pointed out: We must carry out the CYL tasks by focusing on the spirit of the provincial conference of prefectural commissioners. The CYL organizations must mobilize all members and the youths to stand at the forefront in four areas:

First, the organizations must organize them to stand at the forefront in the area of getting rich by increasing production, so as to make contributions for the region's economic and social development plans.

Second, the organizations must organize them to stand at the forefront in the area of supporting reforms.

Third, the organizations must organize them to stand at the forefront in the area of promoting a turn for the better in the party style and general mood of society.

Fourth, the university CYL committees must organize them to stand at the forefront in the area of going down to the grassroots and backward areas. From the 1st to the 4th year of university study, the committees must do well in the work of educating them on contributing their knowledge and abilities to society and the people.

Ding Tingmo stressed: CYL organizations must, in the course of organizing all members and the youths to stand at the forefront, further strengthen and improve their thinking and structure. The work of the CYL is to serve the four modernizations. In the wake of the youths' characteristics, they should work hard at the grassroots and stress efficiency. They should work in an innovative way and make it more lively and solid.

SICHUAN PUBLIC OPINION ON REFORM SURVEYED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 11 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by staff correspondent Hou Jiangang [0186 1696 0474] and staff reporter Dong Wei [5516 4850]: "A Survey of Views on Reform"]

[Text] At the end of April when the computer at the Southwestern University of Finance and Economics displayed the final data, the 580 plus students of the university taking part in the "Survey of the People's Views on Reform," organized by the Sichuan economic reform office and economic research center, were convinced by the rational figures before their eyes. The information obtained by means of the "Gallup Poll" method of survey raised the students' understanding of the national reform situation to a new height.

Utilizing winter vacation this year, students of the university surveyed 4,126 persons in Sichuan's 80 plus prefectural, city and county enterprises, including plant directors, managers, cadres and workers. The figures obtained through the survey caused the students to ponder earnestly.

On "in spite of the problems found today, reform is after all better than no reform," the result was:

Yes: 3,729 persons. No: 107 persons. Uncertain: 267 persons. Others: 8 persons.

As a result, the students understand more clearly that reform represents the interest of the overwhelming majority and possesses an extremely broad mass base. The people place great hopes in reform and are able to understand the temporary difficulties and mistakes emerging in its course.

On "your view of the people's standard of living in recent years," the result was:

Marked improvement: 1,257 persons. Certain improvement: 2,739 persons. Some decline: 90 persons. Others: 19 persons.

Analyzing the figures, the students found that, even though reform has not resulted in a basic improvement in the living standard of everyone, it has

indeed brought positive changes to the lives of the overwhelming majority. More importantly, the reform momentum has unfolded to the people of China the potential and certainty of ceaselessly improving and enhancing their material and cultural lives, and it indicates that reform is China's only hope.

On "if the state pays the minimum living expenses to the jobless, unemployment should be permitted for a part of the people," the result was:

For: 2,478 persons. Against: 1,147 persons. Indifferent: 464 persons.
Others: 19 persons.

The students launched a fierce argument on the figures and came to the following conclusion: It is inevitable for some units and individuals to lose temporarily some partial, personal and current interest during reform because of the needs of the overall and long-range interest. By reason, people feel that it is a matter of course, but in practice, many are unable to accept it emotionally.

On "after the introduction of the enterprise bankruptcy law, it is possible for your unit to go bankrupt. Do you think the law should be introduced?", the fourth question, the result was:

Yes: 2,442 persons. No: 871 persons. Indifferent: 40 persons. Others: 52 persons.

The students analyzed the current state of the country in terms of the figures. They declared: The negative factors in national culture and national psychology have resulted in a strong inertia. While cursing poverty and ridiculing the "large rice bowl" and "iron rice bowl" practices, people feel a subtle reluctance to give them up.

The data indicate the arduous and formidable nature of reform. A person may find reform imperative, but avoid it in practice. He may be an active element in certain aspects of reform, but take another attitude in other aspects.

Reacting strongly to the survey, the students of the university launched extensive discussions. Gao Yong [7559 0516], class of 1983 in the political science and economics department, said: "Conducting surveys is a good opportunity to link theory with reality. It has given us a more direct and profound understanding of the meaning of reform and enabled us to recognize the people's tolerance of reform. As university students of the eighties, we deeply feel the weight of the burden on our shoulders, and we must highly cherish today's environment and conditions, take the lead to rise with force and spirit, and continuously improve ourselves in the course of making contributions to society."

Graduate student Yang Xu [2799 2485], class of 1983 in the industrial economics department, declared: "The progress of reform has revealed the incompatibility in the national psychology. Fear of change and contentment with the status quo are obstacles to reform. Renewal of the national quality should be made a more important aspect."

Graduate student Wang Boqing [3769 0130 1987], class of 1983 of the same department, said: "The people's expectations of reform are too high, but their understanding is relatively one-sided. It is caused by propaganda. We should spread the idea that reform has its risks and is extremely arduous, but some people today often can only share the sweet but not the bitter. It is extremely dangerous."

The discussions aroused by the figures are continuing and intensifying among the students of the university. They all indicated: We should seek our own positions in the ranks of reform, guard against overcriticalness on the side-lines, and serve as leaders.

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PERSEVERANCE IN IMPROVING PARTY STYLE ADVOCATED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by Mei Songwu [2734 2646 2976]: "Persevere in Party Style Rectification"]

[Text] On 6 June, the Sichuan provincial discipline inspection commission and party consolidation office and party committees of provincial organs held a meeting on the results of party style rectification and party consolidation. The meeting found that, since provincial organs implemented the essence of the mass meeting of 8,000 people at the central government, party style rectification as a whole has made new breakthroughs. It demanded that the province continue to implement the party Central Committee's principles of "determination and perseverance" and "earnest effort for 2 years," persevere in the preliminary situation of the entire party concentrating on party style rectification and, while continuing to overcome bureaucratism and improve organ work style, earnestly correct unhealthy tendencies in the various trades, focus on major and important cases and intensify the effort on party style rectification.

At the meeting, the Southwest Petroleum Geological Bureau and the provincial higher people's court reported on strengthening the leading groups and the ideological-political work of organs, education in party spirit, party style and party discipline, and improvement of party style. The Sichuan branch of the People's Bank and the provincial chemical industrial department reported on earnestly improving the work style of organs, overcoming bureaucratism, solving one by one problems in party style, specific instances of going to the basic level, and strengthening and developing the fruits of party consolidation. The provincial posts and telecommunications bureau, provincial communications department and Chengdu railway bureau reported on rectifying the professional guiding ideology and correcting, in conjunction with the characteristics of their particular fields, such unhealthy tendencies as "using vehicles for private gain" and "using communication supervisory power for personal benefit." Their reports reflected the common characteristics of provincial organs in rectifying party style. Thereafter, provincial organ party committee secretary Liang Hongyu [2733 7703 3842] discussed party style inspection in provincial organs.

Provincial discipline inspection secretary Cao Qingze [2580 1987 3419] discussed four points on further rectifying party style: 1. Earnestly study central leaders' recent important speeches, further improve the consciousness of leading cadres at all levels, especially those at the county level and above, in focusing on party style, and persevere in improving party style. 2. Strengthen leadership, assign more personnel, and accelerate the breakthroughs and conclusions of major and important cases. 3. Earnestly rectify the unhealthy tendencies of the various trades and intensify the work of party style rectification. 4. Overcome bureaucratism, improve organ work style, accelerate the pace, and enhance efficiency.

At the conclusion of the meeting, deputy provincial secretary and provincial discipline inspection secretary Nie Ronggui [5119 2837 6311] gave a speech: In focusing on party style, rather than overdoing it, we have not as a whole concentrated sufficiently on it. Many problems in party style have not been solved. In line with the party Central Committee's principles, we must persistently, solemnly and earnestly concentrate on it. In terms of the practical problems brought up in the course of party style rectification, we must promptly study some policies and formulate clear provisions. These are the needs of party style rectification. However, when we stress clear policy distinctions, we do not mean that we have been excessive in focusing on party style. Some comrades made comments on party style rectification. Comrades working on party style must analyze such comments, perform their work actively and with initiative, and criticize and educate those with incorrect views.

Comrade Nie Ronggui declared that the various units must make improving efficiency and accelerating the pace important parts of organ style rectification. Leading cadres and leading organs must serve as models and overcome the bureaucratic style. Comrades or organ party committees and discipline inspection groups must earnestly strive to improve organ work style. By means of political mobilization and disciplinary rectification, they must improve organ work style, thereby strengthening and developing the achievements of party consolidation.

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SICHUAN RIBAO CONSIDERS ECONOMIC, OTHER CRIMES

HK300403 Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 86 p 1

[Report by reporter Liu Yaohui [0491 5069 6540]: "Political and Legal Commission Under Provincial CPC Committee Holds Telephone Meeting on Cracking Down on Severe Criminal Offenses and Economic Crimes and Effecting a Stable Turn for the Better in Social Order of Entire Province"]

[Text] "CPC Committees and political and legal departments at all levels should conscientiously implement Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important instructions on 'grasping construction in one hand and legal systems in the other,' continue to make efforts to implement in an all-round way the spirit of the national and provincial meetings on political and legal work, unswervingly pursue the guiding principle of meting out severe punishment according to law, dealing severe blows at serious criminal offenses, bring the occurrence of major and vicious crimes under control, crack down on economic crimes, vigorously straighten out social order, and effect a stable turn for the better in social order to create a good social environment for reform and economic construction." This was said by Bai Shangwu, member of the provincial and legal commission under the provincial CPC Committee, at a provincial telephone meeting held on the evening of 11 July.

The telephone meeting was approved by the provincial CPC Committee and held by the political and legal commission under the provincial CPC Committee.

At the meeting, Comrade Bai Shangwu first reviewed achievements made during the first half of the year. He said: CPC committees and political and legal commissions at all levels conscientiously implemented the spirit of the national meeting on political and legal work with emphasis on cracking down on embezzlement and investigating important and major cases. They fought the battle well during the first half of the year by promptly and severely handling a number of criminal elements who seriously undermined our social order and were guilty of murder, robbery, rape, explosion, severe embezzlement, and so on. They strengthened their struggle against economic criminals, investigated and handled a number of important and major cases, concentrated their efforts on dealing blows at a number of severe economic criminal elements, sentenced over 2,000 economic criminals to imprisonment, and forcefully repealed the

arrogance of the economic criminal elements. They further implemented other measures aimed at straightening out social order in an all-round way. They cracked down on the offenses in order to prevent their further occurrence and conducted courses in "popularizing legal knowledge." They also strengthened the building of the political and legal contingent.

Comrade Bai Shangwu pointed out that the following five aspects should be grasped in order to effect a turn for the better in social order:

1. CPC committees at all levels should organize the relevant departments to systematically analyze the situation in social order, examine whether the aim and requirements of stable improvement of social order have been attained in light of local conditions, resolve existing problems one after another, and make achievements as fast as possible.
2. They must place their emphasis on dealing blows at and preventing the occurrence of vicious cases. They must persist in cracking down on them once they occur regardless of their number. They must not be soft on them. They must continue to grasp the struggle against embezzlement. In light of the present situation in frequent occurrence of embezzlement inside the units concerned, they should resolutely bring embezzlement under control, further strengthen their struggle against economic crimes, and handle a number of major cases as fast as possible.
3. They should vigorously strengthen the work of improving social order and preventing crimes. What is more important is that they should do well in the building of spiritual civilization and providing education aimed at "popularizing legal knowledge." They should also do well in educating and redeeming youths who have committed mistakes, and preventing the occurrence of crimes.
4. They should further strengthen ideological and political work, arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres and policemen, inspire their spirit, and enhance their morale, so that they strengthen their confidence and work hard.
5. CPC committees at all levels should continue to strengthen their leadership over political and legal work and urge political and legal departments to devote their main efforts to implementation of the relevant measures. Regarding a small number of important and complicated cases, major economic criminal cases in particular, they should help the political and legal departments handle them strictly according to law.

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YUNNAN HOLDS MEETING OF COUNTY MAGISTRATES

Meeting Opens 21 July

HK230553 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 21 Jul 86

[Text] The meeting of county magistrates held by the provincial people's government opened in Kunming this morning. The main tasks of this meeting are that on the basis of the province's situation in reform and economy, the experience in the first half year will be reviewed, arrangements for reform and economic work in the second half of the year made, and the cadres at all levels and people of all nationalities throughout the province further mobilized to completely fulfill the plans for reform, economy, and social development for this year so that the province can make a solid step forward in the 1st year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

Vice Governor Zhu Kui presided over this morning's meeting. Governor He Zhiqiang delivered an important speech at the meeting. Vice Governors Chen Liying, Li Zhengyou, Dao Guodong, and Jin Renqing attended the meeting.

Attending the meeting are all prefectural commissioners, autonomous prefectural magistrates city mayors, county magistrates, discipline inspection commission chairmen, economic commission chairmen, leading cadres of all relevant departments at the provincial level, and representatives attending the provincial conference on labor and personnel work, totaling some 800 people.

Concludes 30 July

HK310141 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 30 Jul 86

[Excerpts] The provincial conference of county magistrates concluded in Kunming on 30 July. The meeting called on the cadres at all levels and the people of all nationalities in the province to strive to fulfill the year's reform and social and economic development plans and to take a firm first step in the first year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

Provincial CPC Committee Secretary Pu Chaozhu delivered a speech at the concluding session entitled "Step up study, be bold in practice, and strive to improve leadership standards." He dwelt on four issues: 1) It is essential to uphold the ideological line of seeking truth from facts at all times. 2) Firmly establish the idea of developing socialist commodity economy in leading economic work. 3) Be skilled in grasping major contradictions in complex affairs. 4) Ensure that ideological and political work penetrates into all economic and administrative work.

Provincial CPC committee leaders He Zhiqiang, Li Shuji, Liu Shusheng, Wang Xintian, Yin Jun, and Zhao Kun were present.

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CSO: 4005/893

YUNNAN CONFERENCE ON BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK241029 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 23 Jul 86

[Excerpts] The provincial CPC Committee, the provincial People's Government, and the Chengdu Military Region jointly held in Wenchang Zhuang and Miao Autonomous County and on-the-spot provincial conference to exchange experiences on army men and civilians jointly building spiritual civilization. This was a grand conference on building socialist spiritual civilization in Yunnan. Over 200 people attended the conference, including party and government leading comrades from all prefectures, autonomous prefectures, cities, and 44 counties in the province; responsible comrades of the relevant provincial departments; responsible comrades of the PLA units stationed in Yunnan under the Chengdu military region; representatives of advanced units in army men and civilian building spiritual civilization; and special delegates.

At the conference held in the morning of 20 July, Zhao Tingguang, standing committee member and propaganda department director of the provincial CPC committee and chairman of the provincial committee for five stresses, four beauties, and three loves, delivered a speech.

He said that in the new historical period, we must carry out the activities of the five stresses, four beauties, and three loves and of army men and civilians jointly building spiritual civilization centered on reforms and economic construction, so as to pave way for developing a socialist productive force and socialist commodity economy.

Zhu Zhihui, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, responsible persons of the Yunnan border force, and representatives from the Political Department of the PLA attended the conference on 20 July.

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CSO: 4005/893

XIZANG: DANGZIN ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK291050 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 28 Jul 86

[Excerpts] On the afternoon of 26 July, the region's propaganda system held a mobilization meeting on accelerating the development of socialist spiritual civilization in accordance with Xizang's realities. Dangzin, deputy secretary of the Regional CPC Committee, delivered an important speech on how to build socialist spiritual civilization in Xizang.

(Li Ruiwen), director of the Propaganda Department of the Regional CPC Committee, presided over the meeting. Over 400 cadres above district and bureau level from 12 units in the region's propaganda system attended the meeting.

In his speech comrade Dangzin said that there may be thousands of tasks in Xizang's work, but two are fundamental: to build material civilization in accordance with Xizang's realities, and to build spiritual civilization in accordance with Xizang's realities.

Comrade Dangzin said that building socialist spiritual civilization is an arduous and systematic task which develops in parallel to socialist spiritual civilization. In connection with Xizang's reality, we must pay attention to the following problems in building socialist spiritual civilization:

1. People in Xizang have a low cultural level, and their cultural life is poor.
2. Xizang has been rid of the slavery system, which combined politics and religion, for a short time.
3. Xizang is an area where most people profess a religion and which is basically inhabited by people of the Zang nationality.
4. Xizang was previously a feudal society. To build socialist spiritual civilization in this special area, we must follow the instructions of central leading comrades on understanding Xizang and must do everything in accordance with Xizang's conditions.

Comrade Dangzin said that under the guidance of this ideology, we must grasp two tasks in building spiritual civilization in the next few years: ideological construction, and cultural construction.

After expounding on the significance of conducting education for people of various nationalities in Xizang in loving the party and motherland, in inseparable relationships between the Han nationality and minority nationalities, and in the unity of people of various nationalities; of serving the people wholeheartedly; of carrying out cultural construction; of developing Xizang's education with the Tibetan language educational system as its focus; of saving, inheriting and developing the minority nationality cultural legacy; of strengthening propaganda work of press, radio, and television; of developing public health and sports; and of strengthening propaganda work and education; of spreading scientific knowledge, comrade Dangzin put forth three specific demands for building socialist spiritual civilization in accordance with Xizang's realities:

1. Mobilize the whole party and coordinate all departments to deepen the understanding of the whole party, and particularly leading cadres at all levels, of the importance of spiritual civilization.
2. Build socialist spiritual civilization in accordance with Xizang's realities; to do this we must combine words with deeds, do more practical things, cater to the grassroots, and put the stress on rural and pastoral areas.
3. Build a contingent of various people who have moral integrity, love the building of socialist spiritual civilization, and have professional knowledge, such as political and ideological work cadres; theoretical and propaganda work cadres; editors; journalists; writers; artists; doctors; nurses; sports workers; educational workers; cadres engaged in management of films, cultural relics, and libraries; logistics cadres; and administrative cadres, so as to push the building of socialist spiritual civilization to a new stage.

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CSO: 4005/893

TIBETAN STUDIES EXPERTS ATTEND MEETING IN LHASA

HK020133 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 Aug 86

[Excerpts] A national seminar on Tibetan studies opened in Lhasa on 1 August. Over 100 Tibetan studies experts, scholars, and researchers from Xizang and the interior of China, together with lovers of Tibetan studies, gathered in the Lhasa Theater for the meeting, which is of an unprecedented scale.

Dangzin, deputy secretary of the regional CPC committee, gave the following views on Tibetan studies: 1) We can only gain a deeper and fresh understanding of Xizang by doing a good job in Tibetan studies. 2) The fundamental task in Tibetan studies is to serve the building of the two civilizations in Xizang.

Wang Meng, minister of culture, attended the opening ceremony. Also present were leading comrades of the party, government, and army in the region including Wu Jinghua, Pagbalha Geleg Namgya, Doje Cering, Mao Rubai, and Danzing.

Wu Jinghua said in a speech: As secretary of the CPC Committee of Xizang Autonomous Region, I am very happy today to be able to attend such a solemn Tibetan studies meeting in Lhasa. China is the home of Tibetan studies, and Xizang is the source of these studies. The Tibetans are a great nationality. We have the greatest right to speak in the field of Tibetan studies. Our generation has the skill and ability to advance Tibetan studies.

Apart from gaining the concern and support of the regional CPC Committee and government and organizations at all levels, this seminar has also been greatly supported and assisted by Tibetan study circles inside and outside Xizang and related research departments.

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CSO: 4005/893

CADRES ASSIGNED TO RURAL AREAS URGED TO WORK EARNESTLY

Lhasa XIZANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Lu Lu [6424 3406]: "Cadres Assigned to the Basic Level Must Guard Against Perfunctoriness"]

[Text] Closely associating with the people is our party's fine tradition and work style, and the mass line is one of its three magic weapons against the enemy. Recently the Xizang autonomous region party committee decided to assign over 3,000 cadres to the basic level to help the peasants get rich. It is most heartening. For the cadres to produce good achievements and make the trip worthwhile, I wish to submit my views for reference by comrades soon proceeding to the frontline.

First of all, cadres going to the basic level must avoid two undesirable tendencies. One tendency is that, while they are physically at the basic level, their minds remain elsewhere, and they are unable to settle themselves totally in the basic level. Previously in Xizang, some cadres going to rural villages always emerged as "imperial envoys," remaining high above the people and issuing arbitrary commands. As a result, they not only failed to solve practical problems, but also damaged the party's prestige among the people, producing little result, and the loss outweighed the gain. The second tendency is to make a symbolic trip. Previously, instead of truly clarifying the conditions and solving the problems, some cadres considered assignment to the basic level the stairway to "promotion" and the springboard to "gold-plating." Skimming over the surface and viewing flowers on horseback, they beat a hasty retreat the moment their time was up. Undoubtedly both tendencies are wrong and must be thoroughly eradicated. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Today, what confronts our party organizations at all levels is to make a solid effort, earnestly solve problems, and work in a down-to-earth manner. In a word, they must do concrete work. The practice of pursuing the superficial and ignoring practical results, efficiency and speed must be checked. The bad habits of uttering hollow words, making exaggerations and telling lies must be eliminated." This is the year of earnest fulfillment. We firmly believe that, as long as our cadres will truly "settle" below, earnestly contact the masses, solve the problems, and act according to the regional party committee's five requirements, their trip to the basic level will be fruitful and worthwhile.

Next, in view of the fact that the masses of agricultural and livestock areas want to get rich but are afraid or unable to do so, besides publicizing the relevant principles and policies and teaching them to live the socialist motherland and the CPC and obey law and discipline, our cadres assigned to the basic level must further purge the pernicious "Leftist" influence, strengthen the basic level political power, start from reality, investigate and study, suit the measures to local conditions and do more solid work for the people. Thirdly, to concentrate properly on the cadres' rural assignment, effort must be made in the following four aspects:

1) Full ideological preparations must be made. The purpose of our cadres' rural assignment is to help the farming and livestock peasants overcome poverty and get rich, not sightseeing. Instead of issuing orders, the cadres must take the attitude of rendering service. Thus, they must have patience, abundant scientific and technical knowledge and good management level, for otherwise, going to rural areas to help the peasants get rich will be an empty phrase. In addition, Xizang's conditions are poor, and rural assignment will entail many hardships. Thus, our cadres must be full of enthusiasm and follow the spirit of arduous struggle. 2) Problems must be promptly uncovered and solved. The cadres must resolutely handle the longstanding and urgent problems and widely publicize principles and policies not understood by the masses. 3) The cadres must be courteous and not be ashamed to ask questions and learn from their subordinates. To understand the practical conditions, they must humbly listen to and respect those on the frontline and make their assignment a good opportunity to learn from the masses. Those on the frontline have the best practical experience and the right to speak. Only by earnestly recognizing them as teachers and learning from them will the cadres master "firsthand material," in order to render service today and in the future. 4) Going to rural areas to help the peasants get rich is a protracted task, and the key is perseverance. The cadres must remain constant and, starting well and ending well, help the peasants overcome poverty and get rich.

In short, it is excellent for the cadres to go to the basic level to help the peasants get rich. "Climb the peak for jade and dive into the water for pearls." We believe that, as long as our cadres will bring forth their strong points and remedy the shortcomings, their meaningful assignment to the basic level will produce abundant results.

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CSO: 4005/817

BRIEFS

YUNNAN WORK CONFERENCE--The Yunnan provincial CPC committee's conference on ideological and political work concluded in Kunming yesterday afternoon. This 10-day conference conveyed and studied the spirit of the national forum of Propaganda Department directors and the relevant instructions of leading comrades of the central authorities on the building of spiritual civilization, and successively listened to the relevant reports by leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee on three occasions. The comrades attending the conference declared: In the new period, we must persist in simultaneously grasping the two civilizations and in the light of the realities of all reforms in Yunnan, strengthen and reform ideological and political work so as to make it be effectively subordinate to and serve the general tasks and general aim of the party and to pave the way for the development of social productive forces and of the socialist commodity economy. [Excerpts] [Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 17 Jul 86 HK] /9738

CSO: 4005/893

HEBEI CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING OPENS

Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 8 Jul 86

[Text] The 21st Standing Committee meeting of the 6th Provincial People's Congress opened in Shijiazhuang City on the morning of 8 July. Sun Guozhi, chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, presided over the meeting.

At the meeting, Wang Yu, vice chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, delivered a speech on relaying the address given by Chairman Peng Zhen at the national forum of leading comrades from the Standing Committees of various provinces and cities throughout the country.

At the meeting, the participating members heard the report given by Zhen Sanlu, director of the provincial foreign affairs office, concerning the visit of the provincial delegation to Japan; the report given by Ma Yaozheng, chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee under the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, concerning details on revising provincial draft regulations on management over financial affairs at the township-town level; the report given by Zhong Xiji, director of the provincial Coal Industry Department, on details of provincial draft regulations on management over local coal mines; the report given by Li Han, director of the provincial Department of Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection, concerning enforcement on the trial basis of the PRC's law on environmental protection and the implementation of the law; the report given by Gong Bangduo, deputy director of the provincial Agriculture Department, concerning the current situation in agricultural production; the report given by Zhang Zhibo, director of the provincial Judicial Department, concerning the province's situation in popularizing legal knowledge and opinions of future work; and the report given by Zhang Furui, deputy director of the provincial public Health Department, concerning the implementation of the Food Sanitation Law and the two related regulations.

Attending the meeting were vice chairmen of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, including Wu Qingcheng, Guo Zhi, Yue Zengtian, Zhang Zhenchuan, Pan Chengxiao, Zhang Kerang, Wang Yu, Han Qimin, and Du Benjie.

Attending the meeting as observers were Xie Feng, governor of the province; Wang Yugong, vice president of the provincial People's Court; and responsible persons from the departments concerned under the provincial People's Government and the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee. The meeting will hold group discussions from 9 July.

HEBEI CIRCULAR ON STRENGTHENING PARTY GRASSROOTS

SK Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 86 p 1

[Text] of circular issued by the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee on 14 July:
"Strengthening the Construction of the Rural Grassroots Party Organizations"

[Text] Rural grassroots party organizations have further given play to their role as a fighting bastion while party members in rural areas throughout the province have further brought into play their exemplary vanguard role. At present, relations between the party and the masses are improving, rural reform is under profound development, and the rural economy is flourishing even more. The overall situation in construction of the grassroots party organizations is good. However, we must fully understand that by no means can all problems be solved through party rectification, nor is party rectification a method that completes something once and for all. The profound development of reform has set forth new higher demands on rural party organizations. At present, many grassroots party organizations still fail to adapt themselves to the demands of the new situation with regard to their ideology, work, and workstyle; some fail to do a good job in giving play to their role as a fighting bastion; and some are unable to guide the masses in seeking prosperity. Therefore, continuing to strengthen the construction of the rural grassroots party organizations based on party rectification is a task of urgent importance. The CPC committees at all levels should firmly consolidate and develop the achievements in party rectification to consciously and closely grasp the construction of the rural grassroots party organizations.

1. The characteristics and tasks of the rural party organizations under the new situation.

Rural party branches are fighting bastions as well as grassroots leading cores for building modern socialist rural areas. The principle tasks of rural party branches are as follows: 1) In accordance with the party's policies concerning making the people rich, they should lead the masses of the peasants in developing commodity production, eliminating poverty, and pursuing wealth with a view to making the people become comparatively well-off by the end of this century; 2) they should strengthen the day-to-day ideological and political work among the peasants; grasp cultural and educational development in the rural areas; cultivate the peasants to become persons of a new type with ideals, moral integrity, education, and a sense of discipline; and strive to realize a fundamental turn for the better in party style as soon as possible; and 3) party

branches should achieve ideological and organizational construction in order to give full play to their role as a fighting bastion and the party members' exemplary vanguard role. These three tasks are the basic work of the rural grassroots party organizations.

2. Conscientiously strengthen the construction of the leading bodies of the rural grassroots party organizations.

Leading bodies at the township and village levels throughout the province have generally been readjusted before and during party rectification. From now on we should put stress on grasping ideological construction and improving work-style in an effort to improve the political, ideological and professional quality, and leadership of the grassroots cadres as well as timely readjusting the leading bodies that fail to give play to their role as a fighting bastion or to lead the masses in pursuing wealth.

In strengthening and readjusting the minority of the leading bodies that should be strengthened and readjusted. We should persist in the principle of having both ability and political integrity, completely follow the mass line, and boldly appoint people on their merits and abilities so as to promote to the leading bodies the excellent people who conscientiously persist in the four basic principles, earnestly implement the party's principles and policies, enthusiastically handle the affairs of the people, have the correct workstyle, are in the prime of life, and have certain educational levels and abilities in management and operation. We should pay special and elaborate attention to selecting secretaries of the party branches.

All localities should enthusiastically grasp training work and strive to give general training to all the rural grassroots cadres within 2 years. Each level should take responsibility for training cadres and guarantee good teaching materials, qualified teachers, sufficient educational funds, good study environments, and good systems. Under the unified leadership of the party committees at all levels, organizational and propaganda departments should specifically grasp training work and leading comrades should take the lead in giving lectures.

Party organizations at the township and village levels should set up and perfect the system of responsibility for the management of certain goals. Each and every grassroots cadre should define fighting goals for himself in accordance with the jobs he takes on. The implementation of the fighting goals which the grassroots cadres defined for themselves should be regarded as a principal basis for assessment, awards, and punishment.

Rural party organizations should conscientiously strengthen leadership over the mass organizations, such as villagers' committees, CYL committees, women's federations, and militiamen's organizations. Each rural party branch should assign a party member to take charge of the work.

3. Further achieve education and management for party members.

Achieving education for party members is the central link in strengthening the construction of the grassroots party organizations. At present, we should

place emphasis on educating party members in rural areas with the basic knowledge of the party; the ideals, aim, and discipline of the party; the party's fine traditions and workstyle; the party's line, principles, and policies; and the current situation. Simultaneously, we should educate the party members with scientific and technological knowledge of a certain level and knowledge on operations and management.

We should persist in the principle of persuasion and the principle of linking theory with practice in conducting education for party members. We can adopt flexible methods to conduct education for party members, such as holding training classes at town and township party schools, giving party lectures, and carrying out "party day" drives, activities of "being qualified party members and cadres," heart-to-heart talks, and the activities of commending the advanced. The localities where conditions permit are allowed to apply modern means for conducting education with electrical audio-visual aids. We should make efforts to vividly conduct the education for party members and stress practical results in it.

We should continue to carry out activities of creating advanced party branches and vying with each other to be fine party members. In accordance with the demands of the local situation and the tasks of the localities, the county and township CPC committees should ceaselessly set forth specific demands for creating advanced party branches and being fine party members on all party branches and party members, and regularly make examinations and assessments of the situation in carrying out such activities.

The party members who fulfill their tasks, take the initiative in seeking prosperity, and enthusiastically support the masses to eliminate poverty and pursue wealth should be commended, while those who abuse their power for selfish ends and adopt illegal means to reap staggering profits should seriously be handled.

4. Perfect and strictly enforce the system of carrying out regular activities of organizations.

We should set up and perfect the system of holding three kinds of meetings and giving lectures; that is, holding meetings of party branches, meetings of party branch committees, and regular activities of party groups; and giving party lectures in a regular manner. In accordance with the characteristics of farming seasons, we should persist in the principle of holding more activities in the slack seasons and fewer activities in busy seasons. In general, each party branch should hold a meeting every quarter, meetings of party branch committees can be held at any time when conditions require, and regular activities of party groups should be held once every 1 or 2 months. We should conscientiously carry out criticism and self-criticism. In accordance with the demands of the situation and the tasks, we should give party lectures to the party members once every 1 or 2 months, and simultaneously are allowed to concentrate on a period of time in 1 year to give party lectures.

5. Conscientiously achieve the development of party organizations.

We should persist in the principle of enthusiastically and prudently carrying out the development of rural party organizations. Instead of carrying out closed-doorism and carrying out work in a rush manner, we should ensure the development of party organizations to become a regular practice.

The county (city) and township (town) CPC committees should develop new party members in a planned and well-guided manner. In developing new party members, we should persist in the requirements for party members in order to ensure their quality. We should first cultivate and educate the activists who are applying for party membership, and then recruit those who meet the requirements for party members. We should strictly enforce the procedures for joining the party. The township party committees should especially send personnel to hold talks with those who are applying for party membership and to conduct the necessary education and examinations among them before they are formally recruited into the party.

In recruiting party members from the rural areas, priority must be given to the advanced and well-educated young people working in the forefront of production. Simultaneously, we should pay attention to recruiting middle-aged peasants with the requirements for party members into the party. We also should pay attention to recruiting party members from among advanced women and minority people. Through the regular development of party members, the rural party organizations will ceaselessly be vitalized.

6. Strengthen leadership over the work of rural grassroots party organizations.

Strengthening the construction of the grassroots party organizations is an important content and indicator of the work in which the party administers party affairs. Party committees at all levels should place it on their key agenda and study it at least twice or three times every year. Leading cadres of the counties (cities) and townships (towns) should go deep into the rural areas to conduct investigations and study, to grasp typical cases, and sum up and popularize advanced experiences. We should enthusiastically support the grassroots cadres to foster the spirit of carrying out reform and blazing new trails, pay attention to protecting their enthusiasm for reform, and help them solve their working and living problems in order to enable them to consciously become good "public servants" for the masses and to serve rural economic development.

We should pay attention to strengthening the construction of the ranks of the cadres in charge of organizational work. We should firmly grasp the installation of cadres of the county organizations sections (groups) and the members of the district and township organizational and propaganda departments and discipline inspection committees; simultaneously, we should ceaselessly upgrade their political, ideological and professional quality. The organization departments at all levels should be good advisers to the party committees.

Strengthening the construction of grassroots party organizations and bringing into full play the grassroots party organizations' role as a fighting bastion and the party members' exemplary vanguard role is the guarantee for achieving

the two civilizations in the rural areas. The party committees should conscientiously improve their workstyle, utter less empty talk, and do their work in a down-to-earth manner in order to greatly facilitate the development of the rural grassroots party organizations and to create a new situation in this regard.

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CSO: 4005/918

HEBEI SECRETARY SPEAKS ON CIVILIZED VILLAGES

SK090620 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jul 86 pp 1, 3

[*"Excerpts"* of speech by Xing Chongzhi, secretary of the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee, delivered at a national report meeting on the building of civilized villages and towns on 25 July: "Facilitate the Building of Civilized Villages in a More Down-to-Earth Manner"]

[Text] It has been nearly 5 years since we launched the campaign to build civilized villages, which was initiated in Baoding Prefecture. Thanks to the concern and timely guidance of central leading comrades, and the concerted efforts of the party, government, and army organs and the people throughout the province, the campaign has been enriched in both form and content. It has also been improved, extending from pilot units to large areas and developing from superficial, simple and unitary forms into thorough, comprehensive and diverse ones. The latest investigations and analyses of 100 civilized villages showed that the development has been good. About 80 percent of the province's nearly 50,000 villages and towns have launched the campaign. By the end of 1985, about 20 to 25 percent of rural villages had been named as civilized villages by counties or higher authorities, of which about 10 percent were of fairly high quality. A new pattern of building large civilized villages and towns also emerged. The campaign has effectively promoted the improvement of rural social order and social conduct and, in particular, some large villages and towns have played a notable role in influencing and leading others. Another conspicuous fruit of the campaign is the changes in the peasants' ideas and concepts. Due to the in-depth development of various rural reforms, and the rapid development of the commodity economy, the peasants have gradually broken with numerous outworn concepts, and such ideas as taking agriculture as the foundation, being content with poverty, and following the beaten path can no longer shackle the people as they did before. Instead of seeking existence, sufficient clothes and food, and a stable life, they began to seek affluence, cultural and recreational activities, and [word indistinct] their ideas on morality, right and wrong, honor and disgrace, and marriage, and their way of thinking and style of life are gradually changing. The campaign has facilitated the improvement of the peasants' scientific and educational quality. In the civilized villages of higher standards, an embryonic form of affluent, civilized and democratic socialist new countryside has emerged.

Of course, we should not overestimate the situation in building civilized villages. Thus far, the campaign has made only a small stride on the road

leading to the four modernizations, or, we can say, is only in the initial stage of development. Judging from the situation in our province, about a half of the villages do not carry out the campaign regularly, or do not take the initiative in doing so. Some localities leave some tasks unfulfilled, and others are engaged in formalism in violation of the people's will. The in-depth development of the rural reform and commodity production has set forth many new tasks for the campaign, for which much work remains to be finished in order to either popularize it or improve it, and a continuous down-to-earth manner is required.

In order to continuously deepen the campaign, we should understand and master the law governing its development. At present, we cannot say that we have already understood and mastered the law. Now I will talk about what I have learned from the experiences and lessons gained in this campaign, which our province has carried out for more than 4 years.

Over the past few years, those with good results in the campaign have been the villages which developed the two civilizations in a coordinated manner, and grasped the "two civilizations' simultaneously. Material civilization is the material foundation of the spiritual civilization. If this foundation is not good or strong, we cannot fulfill the many tasks for the spiritual civilization easily, let alone build a high-degree socialist spiritual civilization. For example, the development of cultural undertakings will greatly depend on social economic conditions. Taking the work of paying attention to hygiene and beautifying the surroundings as examples, people who are very poor will not be bothered with that and will not even consider establishing cultural facilities. Some localities that have just dealt with their problems concerning food and clothing are unable to do that though their desire is strong. Only by developing the economy can the masses pay attention to cultural life--after becoming rich--and achieve relative development in cultural construction. Therefore, in building civilized villages we must vigorously push forward the drive to conduct reforms in rural areas and adopt all ways and means to develop the commodity economy. By no means should we consciously or unconsciously put out of our visual field the work of developing commodity production, readjusting production structure, and improving the cooperative system of centralized and decentralized management with the focus on services. Of course, also by no means should we pay no attention to building a spiritual civilization. Some villages that have good economic conditions and good incomes often suffer a poor situation in social morale and order, and the incidents of superstition, robbery, gambling, and law violation. This means that the principle in which people who have had enough food and warm clothes will know well honor or disgrace is not unchangeable, and that it is very possible for those who are motivated solely by money without thinking carefully to stir up trouble after becoming wealthy. While conducting economic construction, all poor or wealthy villages should firmly grasp the work of building a spiritual civilization and particularly of conducting ideological construction. Thus it can be seen that the two civilizations are interdependent and interplayed but cannot substitute each other. The work of conducting reforms in economic systems, developing a commodity economy in rural areas, and of readjusting production structure is based on the target of developing the rural economy. However, to conduct reforms, [word indistinct] of all we should smash the bondage of out-dated systems and renew our views. To eliminate ideological obstacles, we must study

culture, technology, the policies, and the law; pay attention to professional morality; and must vigorously conduct educational undertakings. As Marx said it well, in conducting reforms in productive activities, "producers can come to a change as well; can turn out new quality; can develop and improve themselves through production; can yield new forces and viewpoints; and can create the new style of contacts, new needs, and new languages." This means that the reform of people's subjective world is always carried out along with the transformation of productive activities in the world. Knowing well the identity of process in building the two civilizations is very necessary for us to uphold the principle of building the two civilizations simultaneously. According to the selected investigation data compiled by the province with regard to the more than 100 well-off villages whose per capita income reached more than 800 yuan, the common point of these villages is to earnestly grasp the tasks of conducting reforms and readjusting production structure and to shift the economic mold from the old to the new. In changing the mold, they have integrated their activities with the large amount of ideological and political work that also includes the rich content of building a spiritual civilization. Therefore, building a spiritual civilization among the activities of building the two civilizations simultaneously should be closely based on the tasks of conducting reforms in rural areas and economic construction, on creating favorable circumstance for the drive to conduct reforms, and on paving a road of developing new productive forces. Building a spiritual civilization is aimed at saturating the demand that has cropped up in building a material civilization. Only by doing so will the work of building a spiritual civilization be possible to continuously enrich its content, to play its role well, to upgrade its authority, and to achieve better results. Stressing the fundamental role of building a material civilization does not mean to weaken or belittle the important role and strategic position of spiritual civilization, and even to substitute the building of a spiritual civilization with direct economic activities. As we often say it well, the ideological and political work should serve the program of economic construction. Such a service means to promote the development of productive forces and to ensure the program of economic construction to develop along a socialist road.

Since building of civilized villages is the people's job, the campaign must be carried out in accordance with their requirements and wishes. Our aim in building civilized villages is to serve the people; thus we must rely on the people to map out methods for building civilized villages. Practice has proven that localities that have done a good job in building civilized villages have persisted in the basic principle of respecting the people's wishes by trying by every means possible to do some good deeds that cannot only score immediate results but also render services to subsequent generations. If we deviate from the people's wishes, the civilized villages will not be built. The civilized villages that once are built in violation of the people's wishes will not be consolidated. Over the past few years the trend of lavishly holding wedding ceremonies and funerals has spread throughout the rural areas. This has brought heavy burdens to the peasants, who are just beginning to have adequate food and clothing and to get rich. The people worry about this. But it is difficult for a family or a household to resist outdated traditional customs. Some township party committees enjoyed the people's enthusiastic support because they organized boards of directors for making wedding and funeral arrangements, set

up leading groups in charge of the work among various villages, and called for regarding the requirements for holding wedding ceremonies and making funeral arrangements in a new and simple manner as a content of the campaign to build civilized villages. In the course of seeking prosperity, the vast number of peasants long for ways of seeking wealth, many specialized households and industrial and commercial associations have desires for gaining knowledge of the law, and the grassroots party-member cadres are willing to deeply understand the party's principles and policies. Therefore, many localities have set up [word indistinct] with comprehensive branches such as politics, culture, science and law in accordance with the people's requirements. Not only young and middle-aged people vied with each other to attend these schools but also some aged people came to attend lectures. In order to enable the building of civilized villages to accord with the people's wishes, we should study the people's thinking and requirements. Since the beginning of last year Baoding Prefecture has scored good results in listening to the people's calls and doing concrete deeds for the people through generally launching the activities of organizing and sending cadres at all levels to the rural areas to ask opinions from the rich, ask able persons to give play to their talents, and help the poor seek wealth. The people of different ages, with different economic conditions, and in different regions have completely different requirements. So, we must proceed from the people's different requirements and adopt proper and flexible methods to carry out the campaign to build civilized villages. Of course, the people have a common desire. A varied material life and rich spiritual life is the common pursuit of the peasants at present. So we should carry out the campaign in accordance with the common desire of the people and the special requirements of different stages of development and different layers. The basic goals for building civilized villages are to develop the productive forces for the rural areas, to upgrade the quality of the peasants, and to enable the peasants to become persons of a new type with ideals, education, moral integrity and a sense of discipline. Villages with poor material foundation should urgently implement the party's principles and policies to arouse the peasants' awareness of the commodity economy and think of ways for helping the masses to eliminate poverty one after another. Villages with good material foundations should make further efforts to seek prosperity; strengthen the building of cultural facilities; develop science, technology, and education; upgrade the people's ideological and cultural quality; and strive to enrich the peasant's spiritual life, just like they have done to fill their grain storages.

As building civilized villages is a systems engineering project, we must mobilize and organize forces from all fronts of society to promote the campaign. Cadres and the people have penetrating judgments on this work. Some said that civilized villages are "chains," and all items in rural construction are closely coordinated with each other. Some people say that a civilized village is a "treasure box" which has everything. Others say that it is a "chessboard," with every bishop, knight, rook and pawn occupying its own position and having its own function. Such comparisons are reasonable. Practice has also shown that the building of civilized villages cannot be undertaken by a certain department or a certain level of organs. They should be built by all departments at all levels in a coordinated manner, and should be managed by them all. As

the campaign to build civilized villages means the building of the two civilizations, all departments have something to do with it. The work of any department can be truly carried out only when it finds expression in villages. In order to do so, we should build village party branches which have a correct style of thinking and good skill in leading the people in achieving affluence. This is the key link in the "chain." A village without a good leading body and a few good leaders will not be able to implement party policies, or be turned into a civilized village. For this reason, we demand that more efforts be made to strengthen village party branches ideologically and organizationally in the course of rural party rectification. As a matter of fact, strengthening village party branches is one of the most important regular tasks of the party committees at the county and township levels. With the leadership of the party committees and governments at all levels, and the close coordination of various departments, all the forces for building civilized villages can be pooled and play their role to the full. Over the past few years Dingzhou City has achieved fairly notable results in the campaign. One of the important reasons for this is that under the unified leadership and guidance of the city party committee and government, not only have district, township and village party organizations and governments paid attention to the campaign but also all departments have worked in close coordination for it. In that city, all the propaganda departments, rural work departments, women's federations, CYL committees, scientific and technological associations, public security bureaus, courts, and civil affairs bureaus, as well as all departments in charge of economic work have taken the initiative in plunging into the campaign. Some activities, such as appraising "glorious households which abide by law and discipline," signing "agreements on supporting old people," and running comprehensive schools, have all been carried out with the concerted efforts of several departments. Practice has shown that in order to make a success of the campaign, we should, on the one hand urge all departments and organs at all levels to bring their work into line with the campaign, and to avoid making themselves a weak link in the entire chain, and on the other, urge all departments and units to promote spiritualization with the characteristics of their own trades. As far as the spiritual civilization of party and government organs at and above the township level is concerned, whether or not these organs' workstyle is upright and their mental attitude is good has even greater influence on the campaign. Therefore, we particularly stress the importance of building spiritual civilization successfully in the "compound" of these organs.

The campaign is a long-term strategic task, and a course of concrete, gradual and accumulated development which cannot possibly be accomplished in one move, and for which persistent, unremitting efforts are required. In particular, it is necessary to carry out basic construction successfully, stress reality, do solid work, and achieve actual results. As has been proved in practice, in villages where solid work has been done, plans and goals have been worked out, cadres have performed their work conscientiously and persistently, the campaign has been successful. On the contrary, in villages where work has been done perfunctorily to make a show, not only will the campaign be a failure but also the reputation of civilized villages will be damaged. Without good workstyles, subjectivism will appear, and if higher levels are engaged in subjectivism, the lower levels will engage in formalism. As of now many cadres have gone to the

countryside. However, there still is an unhealthy phenomenon in which cadres from prefectures have gone to units only at the county level and not at the township level, cadres from counties have gone to units only at the township level and not at the village level, and cadres from townships have gone to units only at the village level and not at the household level. Over the past few years our province has paid special attention to straightening out work style among cadres while building civilized villages. In 1986 the provincial party committee has organized 10,000 cadres to go to poor villages in order to receive on-the-job training and to directly join in the program of rural construction. Now that the campaign of building civilized villages has concluded the concrete work, we should very earnestly do deeds that can exert practical effect and practically benefit the vast number of peasants, such as building pipe-water systems; repairing bridges and highways; establishing old folks' homes, nurseries, and public health centers; mediating in people's quarrels; and providing service for production preparations, crop growing period, and harvest transport and storage. In addition to doing some practical or beneficial deeds for the masses, we should also grasp in a down-to-earth manner the work of foundation and cell tissue in the society in line with the long-term and fundamental interest of the masses. This means to build civilized households and to have the rural people become civilized. The building of a socialist spiritual civilization represents a science of training new socialist successors for the generation, either ideological construction with the focus on ideals and morality or cultural construction with focus on science and technology, and education is based on or aimed at training the new "four haves" successors of the generation. Judging from the situation as a whole, the current quality of peasants is far lagging behind the demand of developing a commodity economy on a large scale. Only by closely integrating the drive to conduct reforms in the rural areas with the practice adopted in rural construction; upgrading the ideological and cultural quality of the broad masses of peasants; having all peasants receive basic education on cultural and scientific knowledge; and by smashing the bondage of habitual influences, such as being content with things as they are, being lazy-minded, being fearful of changes, and staying in a rut can we meet the needs of developing a commodity economy and a modern civilization. Therefore, in building civilized villages, efforts should be made to base the campaign on upgrading the quality of peasants and improving the cell tissue of society and to implement the concrete tasks of building civilized villages among every household and person.

Along with the development of rural commodity production, the position and functions of the family have notably improved. In a general sense, the family is the cell of society as well as a multi-purpose entity taking on production, livelihood, and children's education. The rural material and spiritual civilizations will lose their foundation if they deviate from the family. Families that are regarded as the basic layer of society should embody the requirements for the two civilizations and for the cultivation of the persons of a new type with ideals, education, political integrity, and a sense of discipline. The activities of assessing and selecting "five-good families," "honorary households in abiding by discipline and the law," and "households with material and spiritual civilizations" which were initiated by the masses are effective forms to realize these requirements as well as good methods for self-education. Simultaneously, we should pay special attention to studying ways for setting up

a system of awarding the merit. Households and persons should be awarded according to their [word indistinct] we can adopt various ways to award the merit such as erecting a monument to them, writing their biographies, building horizontal inscribed boards for them, issuing certificates of award to them, or sending written and oral messages to commend them so as to create a trend in which the people vie with each other to become advanced, to arouse the people's enthusiasm for building their homeland and making contributions to the four modernizations, and to foster a far-reaching ideal of concretely engaging in development of villages and towns. We believe that as long as we link the spirit of blazing a new trail with the attitude of doing solid work, pay attention to the creativeness of the people, and make unwavering efforts, certainly the building of civilized villages can be carried out more deeply and successfully and new socialist rural areas with Chinese characteristics certainly will emerge.

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CSO: 4005/918

NORTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

BU HE STRESSES BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

SK030523 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 May 86

[Text] In his report on the draft Seventh 5-Year Plan, Chairman Bu He stressed: While strengthening the building of socialist material civilization, we must vigorously strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization. He said: In the course of vigorously promoting the economic construction, we must always adhere to simultaneous grasping the two civilizations, intensify the ideological and cultural construction, uphold the four fundamental principles, and penetratingly conduct ideological education on patriotism, collectivism, and communism. In addition, we should conduct education on the cultivation of lofty ideals, moral integrity, cultural accomplishments, and discipline; should resolutely oppose and resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois liberalization, and other decadent ideologies; and should carry forward the spirit of going all out to make the country strong and devoting oneself to the four modernizations. In the course of building spiritual civilization, governments at all levels must give prominence to correcting all kinds of unhealthy trends, overcoming corrosive phenomena, and effecting a fundamental improvement in party style and social conduct, in line with the arrangements of the CPC Central Committee and regional CPC Committee. This work should begin with leading organs and leading cadres, and then be spread to lower levels. Leading cadres and organs should set examples for lower levels. In addition, we should mobilize the forces in all fields, adopt various feasible measures, further strengthen ideological and political work, and grasp the propagation and education on national unity. We should conduct the five-stress, four-beauty, and three-ardent love campaign and various kinds of joint and individual activities in an extensive, penetrating, and sustained manner, should strengthen the political and judicial work, should deal strict blows to various criminal and economic crimes, should popularize legal knowledge and intensify the sense of the legal system, and should improve public security and social order, so that we can effect a fundamental turn for the better in the region's social conduct as a whole, and push the building of two civilizations to a new stage.

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CSO: 4005/918

NORTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

NI ZHIFU VIEWS CONCERT--The first symphony concert performed by the symphony orchestra of the Shandong Opera and Ballet Troupe at the Tianjin People's Auditorium on the evening of 5 May was well received by the music lovers in Tianjin. Ni Zhifu, Li Ruihuan, and other leading comrades of the municipal CPC Committee and the municipal People's Government viewed the concert. After the performance, they mounted the stage to receive all performers and to congratulate them on their successful performance. [Excerpts] [Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 5 May 86 SK] /12232

HEBEI SECRETARY GENERAL--In accordance with the nomination made by Xie Feng, governor of Hebei Province, the 21st Standing Committee meeting of the 6th Provincial People's Congress which was held on 12 July decided to appoint Mao Zhijun [3029 1807 0689] secretary general of the provincial government. [Text] [Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 86 p 3 SK] /12232

CSO: 4005/918

NORTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

SHAANXI HOLDS RALLY FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST LARCENY

HK050117 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 4 Jul 86

/Excerpts/ The provincial CPC committee and government held a rally in Xian on 4 July to mobilize a provincewide struggle against larceny. Zhou Yaguang, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, presided.

Li Qingwei, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee and governor, made a speech. He pointed out: As a result of two campaigns since August 1983, we have dealt telling blows at serious economic crime, and there has been a marked turn for the better in social order in the province. However, we must realize that factors for instability still exist in social order. Rampant larceny is prominent among these factors. We must undertake the following specific tasks to combat this:

1. The leaders must attach importance to the struggle, and the secretaries must get to work personally to map out unified plans and provide careful guidance.
2. We must carry out extensive propaganda among the masses and mobilize them. We must call on the masses to wage active struggle against criminals. We must urge criminals to give themselves to the political and legal organs within a deadline, and follow the path of gaining lenient treatment through confessing.
3. We must grasp the main targets of the struggle and do a good job in trying cases.
4. There must be clear division of work between the different systems and departments.
5. Seriously implement the party policy of leniency for those who confess and severity for those who resist.

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CSO: 4005/834

BRIEFS

QINGHAI LEADERS' WORK MEETING--A conference on ideological and political work convened by the CPC committee of the provincial organs said that, through carrying out ideological and political work, the provincial organs should gradually be built into well-organized and disciplined and highly efficient work organs, so as to provide better service for reform, for the grassroots, and for opening up Qinghai. The meeting was held in Xining from 30 June to 3 July. Leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee Yin Kesheng, Liu Feng, and Huanjuecailang attended. The participants studied the comments of the leading central comrades on ideological and political work and exchanged experiences in carrying out this work in different units. Huanjuecailang, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, delivered a speech entitled "Unify Thinking, Strengthen Confidence, and Raise Ideological and Political Work in the Provincial Organs to a New Level." On the tasks of ideological and political work in the new situation, he stressed that the work must be firmly centered around reform, which is the main topic, and focused on promoting a fundamental turn for the better in party style. The work must serve the task of opening up and building Qinghai. [Excerpts] [Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 4 Jul 86 HK] 12228

XINJIANG'S SONG HANLIANG SPEAKS--Regional CPC Committee Secretary Song Hanliang pointed out in a speech at the 1986 graduation ceremony of the regional CPC Committee party school yesterday that, in order to ensure that party school education plays an ever greater role in the great struggle to develop and build Xinjiang, the fundamental issue lies in persevering in the guiding principle of linking theory to reality and ensuring that party school education closely serves Xinjiang's four modernizations and the building of the two civilizations. He expressed the hope that all the school graduates will inherit and carry forward the party's fine traditions and workstyle and be good examples of assiduous study, of strengthening party spirit, of promoting investigation and study, and of strengthening nationality unity. Also present at the ceremony were Wang Enmao, Janabil, Amudong Niyazi, Zhang Sixue, and others. [Excerpts] [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 11 Jul 86 HK] /9738

CSO: 4005/893

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

SICHUAN LEADERS VISIT ARMY HAND-OVER GROUPS

HK270506 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 0930 24 Jul 86

[Text] Yesterday afternoon, leading comrades of the provincial CPC Committee, provincial government, and Chengdu Military Region, including Nie Ronggui, Gu Jinchi, Li Shuo, Tao Bojun, and Qiao Zhimin, and responsible persons of relevant departments went to the first guesthouse of the Chengdu Military Region to visit responsible persons of the hand-over groups of all large military regions, all arms and services, all headquarters, and military academies and colleges concerned which have come to Sichuan. They expressed warm welcome to them for coming to Sichuan to do the 1986 hand-over work for the army cadres transferred to civilian work.

In the course of the visit Nie Ronngui, provincial CPC Committee deputy secretary, Li Shuo, Chengdu Military Region deputy political commissar, spoke.

Comrade Nie Ronggui said: This is the second year of streamlining and reorganizing the army. During the period of streamlining and reorganization, the arrangement tasks are arduous. The number of army cadres received for arrangements in our province this year is approximately 40 percent more than last year. At present, as the number of cadres exceeds the establishment and the army is further streamlined, the tasks are very arduous and very honorable. The attitude of our provincial CPC Committee and provincial government is very clear and we will resolutely accomplish the tasks assigned us by the CPC Central Committee, State Council, and Central Military Commission and receive as many as allocated. All of us will make concerted efforts to accomplish the tasks, however difficult they may be. We will ensure that they are warmly received, properly arranged, seriously trained, and rationally employed. We will give full play to the active role of cadres transferred to civilian work in the course of the four modernizations. He said: If the comrades encounter any difficulties in the course of handing over, they must promptly put them forward. Our localities will try to solve them as best as possible.

In his speech, Deputy Political Commissar Li Shuo declared: We will provide assistance to the hand-over groups of all large units of the whole army in Sichuan to facilitate their work as much as possible. Wish you success in the hand-over tasks for the cadres transferred to civilian work.

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CSO: 4005/907

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

FIRST TRAINING SHIP LAUNCHED--China's first blue water training ship was launched yesterday, 12 July, from Shanghai's Qiuxin Shipyard. This vessel's identification number is "V859" and its maximum displacement is 5,500 tons. It is now China's largest and most advanced blue water training ship. The construction of "V859" will provide excellent medium-range and deep sea training conditions for nearly 200 students and 30 instructing officers, and is thus called a "school at sea" and a "cradle for naval officers." "V859" will also be used in naval visits to other countries. [Text] [Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 86 p 2] This new vessel was built to train more commanders for modern naval warfare. Its range without taking on fuel or fresh water is 10,000 nautical miles. [Excerpts] [Beijing NONGMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jul 86 p 1]

3,000-TON SHIP CRANE--Construction of China's first 3,000 ton ship crane, designed by the 9th Design Institute of the China Shipping Industry Corporation and jointly built by Factory 4805 and the engineering units of the 3d Shipping Bureau's 2d Office, was basically completed in Shanghai recently. This ship crane can lift all types of vessels onto shore for repair and is superior and more mobile than repairs done in drydock. [Text] [Beijing JIANCHUAN ZHISHI [NAVAL & MERCHANT SHIPS] in Chinese No 6, 8 Jun 86 p 23]

JILIN MD POLITICAL COMMISSAR--Jilin Provincial Military District Political Commissar Yu Zonghuan [3768 1350 3562] wrote an article entitled "Eradicate the Influence of 'Leftist' Thinking; Strive To Lessen the Burden on the Masses." [Summary] [Shenyang DONGBEI MINBING in Chinese No 4, 4 Apr 86 p 20]

HARBIN MSD LEADERS--Harbin Military Subdistrict Commander Wang Songyan [3769 2646 1484], and Political Commissar Dong Chengxue [5516 2052 1331] wrote an article on readjusting militia training. [Summary] [Shenyang DONGBEI MINBING in Chinese No 4, 4 Apr 86 p 19]

CHENGDU MILITIA, RESERVES CONFERENCE--The Chengdu Military Region held a conference on militia and reserve work from 27 February to 2 March in Chengdu. In attendance and speaking at the conference were military region Political Commissar Wan Haifeng, Deputy Commander Zhang Taiheng, Deputy Political Commissar Li Shuo, Chief of Staff Tao Bojun, Director Shao Nong, and Logistics Department Chief Ma Bingchen. Director of the General Staff Mobilization Department, Chen [Chao] headed a working group. A total of 89 persons, including responsible comrades from the Yunnan, Guizhou, Sichuan, and Xizang provincial (regional) armed forces committees, provincial military districts and military subdistricts, and group army and Chengdu Air Force comrades, also attended. [Excerpt] [Chengdu XI'NAN MINBING in Chinese No 4, 10 Apr 86 p 4]

TAIWAN

TAIPEI RADIO HAILS SURVEILLANCE CAPABILITIES

OW181427 Taipei CNA in English 1407 GMT 18 Jul 86

[Text] Taipei, 18 July (CNA)--The following is a commentary by the Broadcasting Corporation of China (BCC) in Taipei entitled "ROC's [Republic of China's] Role in Free World Defense."

A ranking defense official of the Republic of China said the other day that the country is now able to monitor all military movements in the entire Western Pacific, not just the Taiwan straits.

Deputy chief of the General Staff Adm. Yeh Chang-tung, told participants of the 1986 National Development Seminar in Taipei that Free China has established an advanced monitoring system capable of watching military activities from the Soviet naval base of Vladivostock in the north to the Gulf of Tonkin in the south.

This is of crucial importance at a time of rapid Soviet military buildup in the Pacific and Peking's attempt to build a naval force able to operate far from China's coastal waters.

Free China's beefed-up capability to keep a close watch on enemy movements in this part of the world will not only prevent itself from a surprise attack but also give the free nations in this part of the world an added measure of security.

Speaking at the fourth international sea-lanes of communications conference this week, the Republic of China's former defense minister Soong Chang-chih pointed out that the country has many concerns stemming from its strategic position.

Being located on the outer edge of the East Asia continent and occupying the central position of the island chain defense of the Western Pacific, Taiwan is the pivot point in the sea-lanes of communications of Japan and South Korea.

Almost all of the crude oil and raw materials needed by the two Northeast Asian national must be shipped through the peripheral waters of Taiwan. Should the island be occupied by the communists or other unfriendly powers, the security of the sea-lanes of communications to Japan and South Korea would most certainly be seriously threatened.

Furthermore, as Taiwan lies along the direct sea-lanes of communications connecting Vladivostok and the Soviets' burgeoning new naval base in Cam Ranh Bay, the Republic of China continuously faces the threat of "incidents" and even blockade of the Taiwan straits by Communist China, a move Teng Hsiao-ping has darkly hinted. No one in the free world could escape economic damage caused by the interdiction of either the Taiwan straits and Bashi Channel, or the blockade of Taiwan.

In order to play its vital role in the defense of the Western Pacific, the Republic of China must acquire the air and sea capability sufficient not only for its own defense but also for sharing the defense burden of other friendly countries in the Asian-Pacific region. It means Free China must secure sophisticated warplanes and modern warships from the United States.

At the same time, it behooves the U.S. to exercise great caution in rendering technical assistance to Red China for the modernization of its Navy and Air Force. Any increase in Peking's military capability is an added threat to the security of the Republic of China and the vital interests of the U.S. itself.

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- END -